00110900

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016

00110900

CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER VI.

1703—1708.

FARTHER hints as to public transactions. My removal to Westminster, and settlement there; with some account of the affairs of the Dissenters; of my own ministerial service; and of my concern with the new prophets, their adherents and abettors. 1—141.

Oath of abjuration. Hanover family. Burnet to Princess Sophia. Queen's attachment to her brother. Author chosen at Westminster. Scotland. Parliament. Fletcher of Saltoun. Clarendon's history. Dedication. Dissenters' seminaries. Archbishop Sharp. Calve's-head club. Clarendon and Young, on Charles's execution. Pictures in the Bodleian. Plot in Scotland. Great storm. Ollyffe, Hoadley, and Nichols on conformity. Author's Defence. Scotland. Protestant Succession. Lord Cromarty's insinuation. Union promoted. Germany. Battle of Blenheim. Thanksgiving. Addresses. Bill against Occasional Conformity. Tennison's speech. Ireland. Sacramental Test. Author's second Defence. Introduction. Locke's approbation. Howe. Interview with a student.

New-England. Quakers persecuted. New Parliament. Church of England. Not in danger. Toland. Princess Sophia naturalized. Ollyffe and Hoadley. Author's third Defence. Edwards. Diocesan Episcopacy. Hoadley and Bishop Comp-

ton. Atterbury. New Testament in modern Greek. Ludolph. Anecdote of a Turkish captain. Linacre on oaths. Union. Lord Barrington's mission to Scotland. Lockhart. Kerr. De Foe. Queensbury. Hamilton. Scotland bought. Equivalent.

Battle of Ramillies. Thanksgiving. Dissenting ministers' address. Their introduction. Sunderland. Harley. Windsor. Nobly entertained. Ollyffe's third Defence. Gentleman of the long robe. His case of conscience. Right of the Christian Church. Tindal. Le Clerc. Wotton. Grotius. Hales. Churches of England and Scotland. Debate. Nottingham. Sixteen Peers. North and Grey. Battle of Almanza. Admiral Shovel. Thanksgiving for the Union. Dissenting ministers' address. Equivalent money sent to Edinburgh. Stoning the carters. Plot in Scotland. Kerr, a spy. His license from the Queen. Cameronians. Baxter's practical works. His veracity vindicated. Bishop Lloyd. New prophets. Camisars. Cavallier. Flechier. Facio. His punishment. Sir R. Bulkeley. Lacy. Duke of Devon. Kennet's sermon. Hoadley on Episcopal Ordination. Author's forbearance.

Test in Ireland. Sylvester's death. Bishop Sanderson. A dying lady of pleasure. Burnet, Barclay, and Charles II. Projected invasion. Presbyterian ministers in Ireland. Kerr's contrivances. French fleet driven away. Pretender said to be taken and released. Count de Forbin's memoirs. Edinburgh Castle ill-guarded. Dr. Birch on the Pretender's birth. Run on the Bank. Addresses. Dissenting ministers. Clans in Scotland. Lacy. Warnings. Syllabical speech. Betty Grey. Author's Caveat. Justice Chamberlain. Prince of Denmark. Thanks from the Queen. Mrs. Hill. Duchess of Marlborough. Dr. Emms's expected resurrection. Failure of the attempt. Author's advice against prosecution. Chief Justice Holt. Lacy's character. Bishop Gastrel. Bishop Fleetwood. His two publications. Prince of Denmark dies. Queen's exemplary attention. New Parliament. Onslow, speaker. Mr. Spademan dies. His learning. Jonathan Brown. Case of Restitution. Case of family differences.

CHAPTER VII.

1709.

THE account of public matters continued. Of my journey into North Britain, reception there, and return from thence. 141—227.

Bishop Lloyd dies. His Episcopal severity. Maintained the divine right of Kings. Burnet. Major Cartwright. Naturalization of foreign Protestants. Pamphlet on the Test, burned. Author's journey. York. Dr. Coulton. Lady Hewley's charities. Mr. Shore. Bishop's Thorp. Library. Newcastle. Mr. Bennet. Holy Island. Berwick. Deputy-governor. Dunbar. Cromwell. Edinburgh. General Assembly. Commissioner's table. Inquisition revived. Moderator. Carstaires. Court holy-water. Close of the Assembly. Principal Stirling. The late Union. Abjuration Oath. Episcopal meetings. Not praying for her Majesty. Mrs. Yule. Kirk-Sessions. Sir James Stuart. Major Cartwright and Villers on William III. Parliament Close. Old Countess of Sutherland. Holyrood. Castle. Heriot's Hospital. Physic Garden. College Library. Skull of Buchanan. Bohemian Protest. Husse and Jerome. Advocate's Library. Medals and coins. Parliament-House. Interesting guide. New church. Dress of ministers. Method. Author preaches. On use of notes. Burnet. Whitgift. Author called Latitudinarian. Libertoun. Children baptized. Manner in Scotland. Sir A. Gilmer. Destruction of trees. Roslin. Hawthornden. Drummond. Jonson. Boswell. Newbottle. Dalkeith. Gen. Monk. Lord Provost. Author made a Burgess. Sir J. Dalrymple. Fish-dinner at Leith. Sea-cat. Author receives a Doctor's diploma. Communion at Edinburgh.

Second sight. Earl of Cromarty. Mr. Pennant's relation. Dr. Gilpin. Hopetoun-house. Queen's Ferry. St. Andrews. Beaton. Wishart. Dundee. Forfar. Montrose. Aberdeen. Author and his friends mistaken for French prophets. Mareschal College. Andrew Cant. Professor Osborn.

King's College. Hector Boethius. Salmon-feast, by the river's side. Author receives a Doctor's degree. Library. Trade and manufactory of New Aberdeen. Burgess tickets. Elgin Cathedral. No hay for horses. Perth. Mr. Austin, M.P. His attentions. Kinross. Lochleven. Stirling. James VI. baptized. Glasgow. College. Library. Author preaches in the New Church. Fine auditory. Mr. Jameson. Cyprianus Isotimus. Mess-John. Principal Stirling. Doctor's degree. Silver box. Entertainment. Bothwell Bridge. Rising against Charles II. Hamilton. The Duchess. Entertains the Author, &c. Drumlanrig. Dumfries. Remarks on North-Britain. Treatment of Chaplains. Duke of Somerset. Secker. Oldham. Settled ministers. Carlisle. Whitehaven. Kendal. Shire Stones. Lancaster. Proud Preston. A lady's courtesy. Censure of Jacobites. Manchester. Author returns home.

Sacheverell's sermon. Gen. Stanhope's manly freedom. Sacheverell's triumphant defence. Hoadley. Earl of Portland dies. Enriched from Ireland. Poor Palatines. Battle of Pultowa.

CHAPTER VIII.

1710—1714.

Farther hints both of public and private matters in the remaining years of the reign of Queen Anne. 227—292.

Trial of Sacheverell. Mob. Meeting-house gutted. Parliament. Whigs outnumbered. Marlborough in disgrace. Author's Sermons on Inspiration. Dedication to the Queen ill-timed. Le Clerc's five Letters. Lowth. Wall. Leydecker's disappointment. Sermon against the Rights. Hoadley and Atterbury. Queen's licence and directions to the Convocation. Lay Baptism. Harley stabbed. Dauphin dies.

New Churches. South Sea-Company. Medal of the Pretender. Congress at Utrecht. English writers in the pay of the French. Dissenters warm against the Treaty of Peace. Lord Nottingham renews the Bill against occasional conformity. Passed. Sir T. Abney's conduct. Dr. Watts. Howe.

De Foe. Marlborough run down. Twelve Peers created. Rochester, the Queen's Uncle dies. Exclamation of Louis XIV. Dr. Grabe dies. Walpole committed to the Tower. Prince Eugene in England. Whiston's dedication. Harley poising the two successions. St. John, Bolingbroke. Dauphin dies. Fenelon. Assiento Treaty for Negroes. Bishop Fleetwood's Preface burned. Addresses. Dissenters decline to address.

Author's Comfort and Council to Dissenters. Dr. Clarke's Scripture doctrine. Waterland. Death of the Author's Wife. Peace. French Protestants. Some Galley-slaves released. Marolles. King of Prussia dies. Sophia Charlotte. Author's journey to the West. Newbury. Mr. Peirce. Assembly of Devon and Cornwall. Exeter. Plymouth. Launceston. Cock-pit. Taunton. Bath. Oxford. Scots move to dissolve the Union. English Peers indifferent. Bedford's "Hereditary Right." Chevalier De St. George. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. Gold Medals from the Queen to Members of Parliament. Ostend Company. Sheriffs of London. Dissenters fined by the Corporation. Earl Mansfield.

Author's "Abridgment." Letter to Dissenters. New Parliament. Steele's "Crisis," and "Englishman." Bedford's sentence. Convocation censure Dr. Clarke. His submission. Qualified. Voltaire. Schism-Bill. Debate. Lord Wharton. Author's "Queries." Dissenters' consultations. Princess Sophia dies. Bolingbroke supplants Oxford. Dissenters' attachment to the Queen. Transferred to George I. Panegyrics of Watts.

CHAPTER IX.

1714—1727.

Hints relating both to public and private matters, in the reign of King George I. 293—494.

Queen Anne dies. Day of the Schism Act. Coincidence noticed. Schism Act described. Attempt of the Long Parliament. Marlborough arrives. King George proclaimed. Bolingbroke. Addison, Secretary. Addresses. Bolingbroke

displaced. Reward for securing the Pretender. King's arrival. A run of addresses. Ministers' address. Bradbury's retort. Coronation. Tennison's last act. Tumults. Pretender's declaration. His Sister's good affection. Duke of Athol. Lockhart. Bishop Moor's Library. King presents it to Cambridge. Epigrams. Walker's "Attempt." Dr. Radcliffe. His will. Author's mother dies. His Sermons dedicated to Lady Levet. Bishop Burnet dies. His History of the Reformation.

Eclipse. Bolingbroke, &c. impeached. Meeting-houses pulled down. Rebellion. Fleet in the Downs. Camp in Hyde-park. Newcastle, Bristol, Bath, Plymouth, and Oxford secured. A new run of addresses. Dissenting Ministers'. Practice of the Body. Impeachment of Lord Oxford. Bolingbroke and Ormond attainted. Earl of Mar. A great hunting. Louis XIV. dies. Swift on Louis and Queen Caroline. Memoirs of Louis. Orleans Regent. Lord Mar sets up the Pretender's standard. Habeas Corpus suspended. Derwentwater at Warkworth. Old Mackintosh. Rebels taken at Preston. English conspirators secured. Dissenters all loyal. Mr. Wood a Dissenting Minister raises volunteers. General Wightman's Military commendation of the Rebels.

Prisoners brought to London in triumph. Nobility and Gentry gazing. Monke and his wife in 1660. Tale of the Warming-pan. Burnet. Prisoners pinioned. Executed. Barbarous mutilations. Tennison dies. His bequest for Bishops in America. Bishop Butler's scheme. Laud's project. Episcopalians in the United States. Athanasian Creed. Dr. Hickes dies. Death of Mr. Carstairs. Lockart's "Memoirs." Marquis Wharton. His contradictory characters. Mr. Shower dies. His tour. Old Jewry Chapel. Dr. Rees. Cyclopedia. Duke of Sussex's library. Mr. Simon Browne.

Pretender in Scotland. Bolingbroke's account. Parliament. Impeachment of Scotch Lords. Dr. Williams dies. His noble charities. Pretender's Declaration cried about the streets. He returns to France. Derwentwater beheaded.

His fine character. Lord Nithsdale's escape. Lady Nithsdale. Her cruel reception by the King. Aurora Borealis. Septennial Act passed. Carried by placemen, in the Commons. Lord Somers dies. His character. Select Vestries. Cambridge. Loyal scholars insulted. Hussey's Meeting-house plundered. Oaken boughs 29th May. Wearers punished. General run of Addresses. Handsome one by the Quakers. Other Dissenters decline to address. Their losses from mobs not satisfied.

King goes abroad. Chandler's sight of him. Parson Paul and Justice Hall executed. Their Speeches published. Nonjuring Clergyman and his printer severely punished. Hoadley's "Preservative." Prince appointed Regent. Rioters executed. Address from New England. Author's extemporaneous speech to the Prince. Disturbance at Oxford. Leibnitz dies. Queen of Prussia his patroness. Expected invasion from Sweden. Ministers' address. Author presents it. Dissenters reimbursed. Author on "the Act against Occasional Conformity." Triple Alliance. L'Abbé Dubois. Hoadley on the Kingdom of Christ. Author's "Defence." Locke on Nonconformity. Snape and Sherlock against Hoadley. Piloniere. Sherlock, and Hoadley on the Test Act. Convocation silenced. Oxford's impeachment dismissed.

Author at Hampton Court. Noticed by the King. Bishop Lloyd. His prediction of Rome's burning. Dissension between the King and Prince. Mr. Shippen, M.P. sent to the Tower. A young Jacobite executed. His papers of devotion. Quadruple Alliance. L'Abbé Dubois. His contrivances. Charles XII. killed. Voltaire. Schism Act repealed. Author and Archdeacon Echard. Cromwell and the Devil. Heats among the Dissenters. Test on the Trinity. Mr. Peirce. Exeter Assembly. Appeal to Hoadley. Letters of Advice. Meeting at Salter's-Hall. Author a non-subscriber. Toleration Act. Angry advertisements. Pamphlets in abundance. Expected Invasion. Bill to limit the Peerage. Rejected by the Commons.

Heats among Dissenters continued. Assembly at Exeter.

Pamphlets. Dr. Morgan. North of Ireland. Theological contests. Author's "Remarks on Dr. Walker's Attempt." Law the projector. South-Sea bubble. Lord Cowper's comparison. National Debt. Its amount. Reconciliation of King and Prince. L'Abbé Dubois. George II. and Prince Frederic. George III. Plague at Marseilles. Mr. Peirce's "Western Inquisition." Synod at Belfast. Abernethy. Dr. Drummond. Dr. Hughes's dedication. Earl Stanhope's sudden death. Aurora Borealis. Moyle's remarks. More pamphlets on the Arian controversy. Distress from the South-Sea scheme. Pope. Chandler. Gibraltar. King's letter on its restitution. Probable expense.

Author's new meeting-house. His sermons on the Trinity. Newton's "Letter." Lord King's "Life of Locke." Quarterly Review. Emlyn. Dedication. Alcuin. Charlemagne. Directions to Archbishops and Bishops. Author's audience. Influence in elections. Interview with the Royal Family. Royal bounty. Walpole. A noble Dean's project of persecution. Honourably resisted. Another Synod of Belfast. Plague continues in France. Proposed barracks for pest-houses. New Parliament. Riotous doings. Proclamation against reputed Papists. Tax on Papists. Atterbury seized. His trial and defence. Lord Cowper's dissent. The Bishop's exile. Bolingbroke's return. Simon Browne. Layer executed. Toland. Marlborough. Harburgh. Lord Barrington.

Origin of *Regium Donum*. Dr. Mayo. Dr. Price. Corporation and Test Acts repealed. A declaration of Christianity exacted. Present form of the bounty. Parliamentary grant. Amount for England not published. Burnet. Charles II. His grant. Baxter refuses. Dr. Owen's distribution from the King. Dr. Williams refuses an offer from Queen Anne. Royal bounty in Ireland. William III. Queen Anne. Parliamentary Grant. Present Annual amount. Bishop Fleetwood. Lord Cowper dies. His integrity as Chancellor. An admired orator. His justice and wisdom on a Catholic question. Legacy of Sir John Gayer adjudged to the Dissenters.

Synod at Dungannon. Trial of Mr. Nevin. Abernethy. Haliday. Kirkpatrick. Cruelties at Thorn. President Rosner. Czar Peter dies. Earl of Macclesfield. Trial. Sentence. Bishop Pearce. Lord King, Chancellor. Gibraltar. Mr. Barnes. Legacy to Dissenting ministers. Synod of Dungannon. Mr. Peirce dies. His epitaph. Rector's refusal. Sir Isaac Newton. George I. dies. Duchess of Kendal. His Queen's long imprisonment, and death.

CHAPTER X.

Hints relating both to public and private matters, in the reign of King George II. 495.

Accession of George II. Ministers address the King and Queen. Coronation. Mr. Hardy. Suddenly conforms. Several Ministers conform. Butler. Secker. His early declaration. Author's "Continuation." Acherley's "Britannic Constitution." Hunton. Filmer. Reynolds, the Author's friend dies. Pulteney and Walpole. Bennett. Earle. His lines to Harris. Marryat. Boyce dies. Second sight. Ireland. Charles II. *Regium Donum.* King William's Statue. Prince Frederick. Author's address. Bishop Kennet dies. "Historical Register."

Gaol. Committee. Oglethorpe. Thomson. Dauphin. French nation transported. Onslow. Watts. Dr. Gibbons. Historical note. Dr. Clarke dies. Whiston. Hoadley. Porteous. Woolston. Lardner. Bishop Waddington. Lord Nottingham. Whiston. Lord Orford. Supposed "decay of the Dissenting interest." Walpole and Pulteney. Cotton Library. Bishop Moor's Library. Author's sermon in Dr. Williams's Library. Whiston. Author's last illness and death.

APPENDIX.

No. 1. Rev. J. Ollyffe to Rev. W. Tong. 537—540

No. 2. Diploma for a doctorate from Edinburgh. 540

No. 3. Diploma for a doctorate from Aberdeen. 540
No. 4. Diploma for a doctorate from Glasgow. 542
No. 5. Queries on the Schism Bill. 543—546
Warburton on Canon Laws.
No. 6. On Bishop Kennett's Historical Register. 547—554.
Provisions for ejected Ministers, by Long Parliament. Tartars posterity of the ten tribes. Unlearned preachers. Rev. T. Doolittle. Dr. Lindsay.
No. 7. Dr. Calamy's Publications. 555—561
College Exercise. Latin Dedications. Reordination. Mr. Ollyffe. Letter from T. De La Faye.

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF

MY OWN LIFE,

WITH SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE TIMES I HAVE LIVED IN.

CHAPTER VI.

1703—1708.

Farther hints as to Public Transactions. My Removal to Westminster, and Settlement there; with some Account of the Affairs of the Dissenters; of my own Ministerial Service; and of my concern with the New Prophets, their Adherents and Abettors.

1703. February 27th. The Commons passed "An Act for enlarging the time for taking the Oath of Abjuration, and also for recapacitating and indemnifying such persons as had not taken the same by the time limited." This being sent to the Lords, passed their House, with the material amendment of a clause added, "for the farther security of her

Majesty's person, and the succession of the Crown in the Protestant line."

After debate in the Commons upon the Bill sent from the Lords, thus amended, the question was offered to be put, whether that House agreed with the Lords? But a previous question was proposed, as customary to try the strength of parties. There were 117 Noes, and 118 Yeas: so that the Hanover family carried it but by a single vote.*

* See Burnet's "Own Time," ii. 340.

Soon after this vote, Burnet addressed "a Memorial to the Princess Sophia" (quoted Vol. i. p. 466, *note*). It is dated May 15, 1703, and designed to inform the Electress of "the ancient constitution of England, the crown, revenue, peerage, Parliament," &c.

The original MS., the Bishop's undoubted *autograph*, was accidentally discovered "in the royal library at Hanover," and published the same year by M. Feder, the Librarian. Though the Memorialist, experienced in Courts and Cabinets, denounces "High Church," for having "preached up passive obedience and non-resistance," and seems to complain that "the great preferments of the Church are in the Crown; wherefore churchmen are forced to make their court there for their advancement;" yet, upon the whole, his political reputation has, probably, been little increased by the discovery.

Though Milton and Sydney might be proscribed, Locke had written on Government, as exercised under a limited monarchy. Yet the Bishop has no author to recommend, for the knowledge of English history, or to mature the judgment and influence the administration of an expectant reigning Queen, but Butler and the Jacobite Lesley. He says:

"A valuable English poet, called *Hudibras*, in his 2d Canto, of his 3d part, is, by all I can hear, the truest historian of the

About the same time there was a libel published, intitled "King William's exorbitant Grants,"* dedicated to the Queen and the Commons; in which the Hanover succession was impudently arraigned,† and

affairs of England from the death of Cromwell to King Charles his Restoration," an event which the Bishop attributes to "the genius of the English nation. We won't," says he, "be governed by one another, and therefore must have a sovereign to rule over us."

Lesley is thus introduced and accompanied:—"The most ridiculous and yet the most dangerous sect we have among us, is the *Quakers*. I could write much concerning this sort of people, but it hath been so incomparably well done by a late author, that I neither would forestall, nor rob your Highness of the pleasure of reading the book in print, called, *The Snake in the Grass*, which I therefore humbly presume to send in the same pacquet with this, accompanied with my old friend *Hudibras*, who as he hath been the delight of the present age, so will he never be outdone by the next, nor any that shall come after. King Charles II. valued him beyond any English poet that ever wrote."

The Memorialist who could find out "the most dangerous sect" in "the Quakers," would easily discover that "King Charles I. was certainly as good a Christian and as good a man as lived." At length, however, "rapt into future times," or rather, *ad Græcas calendas*, or "latter lammas," he "cannot but be persuaded that the Presbyterians, especially, and the Independents, will one day come into the Church of England of themselves;" among other reasons, because "their old teachers, Baxter, Bates, Owen, and the rest of their great men, are dead and gone." *Memorial*, (1814) pp. 33, 47, 48, 92, 93.—Ed.

* See Vol. i. p. 415.—Ed.

† On one occasion, according to Lord Halifax, "a clergyman, in a company of Convocation-men, had openly called the Prin-

a plan proposed for bringing in the Pretender, with the consent of her Majesty as his guardian. Yet the author, instead of being punished, was encouraged and rewarded.*

At the rising of the Parliament, the Queen, in her Speech to the two Houses (Feb. 27,) putting them upon earnest endeavours to "continue and preserve the quiet and satisfaction of all her subjects," added that she "hoped that such of them as had the misfortune to dissent from the Church of England would rest secure in the Act of Toleration, which she was firmly resolved to maintain." And, "above all other things, she recommended to them peace and union among themselves, as the most effectual means that could be devised to discourage and defeat the designs of their enemies."

Feb. 20th, died† the Marquis of Blandford, only son of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, who was in the course of his education at Cambridge. Many had raised expectations from him.

March 13th, the Elector of Hanover was installed Knight of the Garter at Windsor, by his proxy, the Lord Mohun.

About this time came out, "A Letter to a Clergyman in the country, concerning the Votes of the Bishops in Parliament, upon the Bill against occa-

cess Sophia, an unbaptized Lutheran." See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 155.—Ed.

* The Queen, having no doubt of their affinity, would, naturally, incline to her brother's succession.—Ed.

† "Of the small-pox." *Burnet*, ii. 347.—Ed.

sional Conformity," written by Mr. Hoadly, with a design to prove that the Bishops neither acted against the interest of Episcopacy, nor of the Established Church, in being against that Bill.*

In June, this year, I was chosen, by the congregation of Dissenters at Westminster, in the room of

* The arguments made use of are such as these:—That the Bill proposed was improper; and tended to divide and inflame us; that it would be a disadvantage to the common interest, and an advantage to the common enemy; that the thoughts of it much pleased the Romanists, who could not rejoice at it, as it would promote the interest of the Church; that the great concern for it which appeared in those that hated the present establishment, made it suspicious that it might have an ill influence on the state of affairs; that it was improper to begin a reign, with what would alarm and discompose the minds of the people; that it would be absurd to pretend to secure the interest of posterity, by making laws likely to have pernicious effects in our own days.

Then, as to the Bishops, it was moved that their behaviour and characters might be considered; and pleaded, that they had been the chief defenders of the Church against its adversaries, and always true to the interest of the nation.

With regard to the Bill, it was shown, that that could be no advantage; it could not strengthen the security of the succession in the Protestant line, because it would turn out several that were well affected to it; and the natural tendency of the practice hereby intended to be prevented, was of present advantage to the Church, and likely to reconcile many to it. And it was added, that such an Act would more incense persons against the Church, instead of convincing them, and so make them much more formidable to the Church than before.—C. See Vol. i. p. 466, *note*.—Ed.

Mr. Vincent Alsop, who died about that time. I had very little acquaintance with the members of the society, and had seldom preached among them, which made the hand of Providence the more conspicuous, in their choosing me pastor with so great unanimity.

A few of them made me a visit at Hoxton, before they proceeded to an election, giving me to understand that their eyes were upon me, and desiring to know whether I was under any such obligation to Mr. Williams and his society, as would hinder my coming to them if they should center in me. I told them, that though I had nothing to make me uneasy in the station I was in, yet I was desirous to see my way from it, as clear as it was to it; that I was under no tie where I was, if Providence opened my way to a place of greater usefulness; but that, as to my coming to Westminster, it would depend much on their unanimity, and other circumstances. I added, that if they had a variety of candidates, and should carry it for me by a bare majority, I should not see my way so clear: whereas, if they made choice of me without a competition, I should consider well of it, before I gave them a denial. However, I agreed to give them a sermon in their vacancy.

The week following, they made choice of me without any competition; and deputed some of their body, to bring me a call to the pastoral office among them, signed with all their hands. It was to

me very observable, that John Lacy, Esquire, from whom I afterwards had so much trouble, upon his falling in with the French Prophets, was one of the forwardest in this whole matter.

There had been several motions made for my filling up other vacancies before, to some of which I might have been likely enough to have given the preference, had my way been clear, and the choice left wholly to myself. But there being, in those cases, obstructions of one sort or another, while all things here were smooth and easy, it became the more evident to me, that this was the place in which the great Arbiter of Providence (who knows the end from the beginning,) designed me to exercise my ministry, for the main part of my life.

Therefore, after a little time taken for consideration, though I could not part from Mr. Williams but with some tenderness, or leave my Hand-alley friends from whom I had received many tokens of hearty respect, without some regret, I yet accepted the invitation and call given me, casting myself upon the Most High for help and assistance. For the more solemnity, there was a day of prayer kept in public by the whole society, in which I had the assistance of divers of my brethren. Though on reflection, I find great reason to lament that in this station I have not been more useful, I yet have reason to be thankful, that I have not been without experience of God's presence and blessing.

There had, it seems, been but one Parliament in Scotland, during all the reign of King William, which was by many reckoned a great grievance. A new Parliament met there in May this year (1703,) and a number of Scotch gentlemen that returned from France, upon the indemnity that had been granted, getting to be Members, a toleration for the episcopal ministers in that country was proposed, but dropped, because of their being non-jurants. Though this was warmly complained of by some, yet it would in reality have been ridiculous in itself and an affront to the Government, to have granted a toleration to those who refused to own the Sovereign, who was by this very Parliament recognised for their lawful Queen; nay, were not to be prevailed with, so much as to pray for her.*

When a supply was proposed, before the House would go upon it, they insisted with great vehemence, upon passing an act to secure their independency; so that in default of issue of her Majesty, the same person might, in no event, be capable to be King or Queen both of England and Scotland, unless a free communication of trade, the freedom of navigation, and the liberty of the plantations, &c., were fully agreed to by the Parliament of England. Several provisions and limitations were also added, which appeared to many to tend to the prejudice of the prerogative of the Crown. Many warm speeches

* Which they, no doubt, deemed an acknowledgment.—Ed.

were made upon this occasion.* Among other remarkable things, Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, said :—

"For my own part, I think that even the most zealous Protestant in the nation, if he have a true regard for his country, ought rather to wish, were it consistent with our claim of right, that a Papist should succeed to the throne of Great Britain, under such limitations as would render the nation free and independent, than the most Protestant and best Prince, without any. If we may live free I little value who is King. It is indifferent to me, provided the limitations be enacted, to name, or not to name, Hanover, St. Germain's, or whom you will."†

At length this Act of Security passed, with great solemnity, by a majority of 59. Whereupon the Duke of Queensbury, Lord Commissioner, told the House freely, that he was fully empowered to give the Royal assent to all the Acts voted in this Session, except this. He was sadly embarrassed; and

* They may be met with in an "Account of the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland" which met at Edinburgh, May 6, 1703, printed in 1704.—C.

† See "The Political Works of Alexander Fletcher of Saltoun," (1749,) pp. 239, 240; "Speeches of Andrew Fletcher," annexed to the late Earl of Buchan's "Essays on Fletcher and Thompson," (1792,) pp. 154, 155.

"Fletcher was by far the most nervous and correct speaker in the Parliament of Scotland, for he drew his style from the pure models of antiquity, and not from the grosser practical oratory of his contemporaries." *Ibid.* pp. 57, 58.—Ed.

adjourned the Parliament from Sept. 16 to Oct. 12. The English ministry, also, were not a little perplexed and troubled; the more, because a motion of the Earl of Marchmont for settling the succession on the House of Hanover, met with contempt, and was thrown out of the House by a majority of 57 voices.

About this time* was published the Second Part of the Lord Clarendon's History, in the Dedication of which to the Queen, (drawn up, as was generally said, by the Earl of Rochester,) several passages were inserted, with a design to pave the way for some things that the high party had then upon the anvil, which appeared more openly afterwards.

We meet there with such passages as these: "What can be the meaning of the several seminaries, and as it were universities,† set up in divers

* "Imprimatur, Sept. 15, 1703."—Ed.

† This was particularly taken notice of, by the Archbishop of York, in the House of Peers, and by Mr. Bromley, in the House of Commons, (1705,) when the danger of the Church was debated.—C.

Dr. Sharp, "Archbishop of York, said, he apprehended danger from the increase of Dissenters, and particularly from the many academies set up by them, and moved, that the judges might be consulted what laws were in force against such seminaries, and by what means they might be suppressed.

"Lord Wharton moved, that the judges might be consulted about the means of suppressing schools and seminaries held by nonjurors, in one of which a noble lord had both his sons educated.

"The Archbishop of York supposed he was the person meant. His two sons were taught by a sober virtuous man, and a man

parts of the kingdom, by more than ordinary industry, contrary to law, supported by large contributions, where the youth is bred up in principles directly contrary to monarchial and episcopal government?"

Afterwards,* in the dedication of the third volume, there are such words as these: "Whilst these men most falsely asperse the sons of the Church of England for being Jacobites, let them rather clear themselves of what they were lately charged before your Majesty, that there are societies of them which celebrate the horrid 30th of January, with an execrable solemnity of scandalous mirth,† and that they have

of letters, who had qualified himself according to law. But when he refused the Abjuration Oath, he took his sons from him." See "Proceeding of the Lords," ii. 158.

* "Oct. 16, 1704."—Ed.

† King William could not be justly charged with any prevailing attachment to the principles of those who opposed and punished the misrule of Charles, and his proclamation against Ludlow, in 1689, may relieve his memory from all suspicion. Yet, some adherents to the Revolution were accused of annually celebrating the King's execution, as appears from the following publication, now before me, to which, probably, the noble dedicator alludes, who was, no doubt, a willing believer.

"The Secret History of the Calves'-Head Club, compleat; or, the Republican Unmasked. Wherein is fully shown, the Religion of the Calves'-Head Heroes, in their Anniversary Thanksgiving-songs, on 30th January, by them called Anthems, for the Years 1693—1699; &c. Fifth Edition, with large Additions. 1705." The Second Edition, 1703, is in the British Museum.

On the authority of "a certain active Whig, in all other

seminaries, and a sort of universities, in England, maintained by great contributions, where the fiercest doctrines against monarchical and episcopal government are taught and propagated, and where they bear an implacable hatred to your Majesty's title, name, and family. This seems to be a torrent that cannot be resisted but by the whole legislative authority."

The answer is easy. The Dissenting seminaries were not, at this time, more in number, nor set up with more industry, nor more carefully supported with contributions, than formerly. Only the high party thought it might serve their purpose, at this time, to raise a clamour against our schools, and pri-

respects a man of probity enough," the historian relates, "that Milton and some other creatures of the Commonwealth, instituted this club; that after the Restoration, they were obliged to meet with a great deal of precaution; but now (the second year of King William) they meet almost in a public manner."

From "another gentleman, who went out of curiosity to their club, in a blind alley about Moorfields," the historian gives the following particulars, not in the Edition of 1703:—

"An axe was hung up in the club-room. Their bill of fare was a large dish of calves'-heads, dressed several ways; a large pike, with a small one in his mouth, as an emblem of tyranny: a large cod's-head, to represent the person of the king singly; a boar's-head, with an apple in its mouth, to represent the king as bestial.

"After the repast, one of their elders presented an *Eikon Basilike*, which was, with great solemnity, burned upon the table, whilst the anthems were singing. After this, another produced Milton's *Defensio Populi Anglicani*, upon which all laid their

vate methods of instruction, according to our own principles, and inveigh against them in such a manner as to make us seem odious. We were, in reality, just the same in this respect that we were from the time we had our toleration; out of the draft of the act for which, some of them at two several times clandestinely blotted out the clause that was inserted in favour of our schools; which is more, I think, to be wondered at, and much more liable to objection, than the Dissenters' willingness to have their youth trained up in useful learning by their hearty friends, and in the same moderate principles with themselves.

The Dedication goes on, and adds; "what can be the meaning of the constant solemnizing by some men, the anniversary of that dismal 30th of January, in scandalous and opprobrious feasting and

hands, and made a protestation, in form of an oath, for ever to stand by, and maintain it.

"The company wholly consisted of Independents and Anabaptists." The historian is "glad, for the honour of the Presbyterians, to set down this remark. The famous Jerry White said grace. After the table-cloth was removed, the anniversary anthem was sung, and a calve's skull filled with wine, or other liquor. Then a brimmer went about to the pious memory of those worthy patriots, that had killed the tyrant, and delivered the country from his arbitrary sway."

The historian, anonymous, like his "active Whig," and "another gentleman," would secure the public credulity, by appealing to other *Anonymi*, "some persons that frequent the black Boy, in Newgate-street," who "know this account of the Calves'-Head Club to be true." See "Secret History," pp. 17–19. —Ed.

jesting, which the law of the land hath commanded to be perpetually observed in fasting and humiliation?"* It is hard to say, what that which has nothing in it

* The mantle of his father appears to have fallen on the noble dedicator; though he follows *haud passibus æquis*. Lord Clarendon, recording the trial and condemnation of the King, calls him "the most innocent person in the world," and designates "the execution" as the most execrable murder, that was ever committed since that of our blessed Saviour." *Hist.* iii. 256.

The Hon. George Agar Ellis, who has lately executed on the character and conduct of the noble historian, some of the justice it had too long deserved, remarks on this passage:—

"Thousands, tens of thousands of men, more innocent than the tyrannical Charles (though I am not prepared to go the length of justifying his execution by the Parliament,) have been put to death, without their executions being likened to that of the Saviour of mankind. It shows either a most perverted intellect, or the grossest ignorance of the religion of the New Testament, to have thought of making such an allusion.

"The University of Oxford," adds Mr. Ellis, "had two portraits made, of Christ and of Charles I., exactly similar in every respect, and with an account of the sufferings of each, at the bottom of his respective likeness.

"These pictures, in the memory of persons now alive, were hung, as *pendants* to one another, in the Bodleian Library." One is since "removed into the Picture Gallery. Both may still be examined by those who are curious in tracing the baseness and blasphemy of the supporters, in old times, of the doctrines of passive obedience." See "Inquiries respecting Clarendon," (1827) pp. 175—177.

The bad manner of the noble historian, was copied by a later writer, under circumstances which peculiarly aggravated the indecorum. Young, in 1713, even when describing "the Last Day," has ventured to prefix a grossly flattering dedication to Queen Anne, and having imagined her royal grandsire, standing

can mean; or how a single excursion, or frantic sally, now and then, of some mad hair-brained creatures, that no one can account for, can be called a "constant solemnizing," or represented as an usual or allowed practice. Such criminations rather show the rooted ill-will of the accusers, than the guilt of the accused.

A little after, with an eye to the late proceedings of the Scottish Parliament, the same writer speaks of "the danger of a future separation of the two kingdoms, very uncomfortable to reflect on; which yet, in all probability, will have influence upon the present times too, if it comes once to be thought that it is inevitable." But as to that, the Union that in some time followed, prevented it, most effectually.

When the English Parliament met, the "Bill for preventing occasional Conformity" was soon brought again into the House of Commons. Nor did it want the concurrence of a considerable majority, by means of Mr. Bromley, Sir Edward Seymour and others,

amidst "spotless saints and laurelled martyrs," before the awful seat of eternal judgment, the poet thus concludes a courtly panegyric:—

"His lifted hands his lofty neck surround,
To hide the scarlet of a circling wound;
The Almighty judge bends forward from his throne
Those scars to mark, and then regards his own."

On the progress, and the decline, probably to an entire and unregretted desuetude, of this annual infliction of "fasting and humiliation, to be perpetually observed," see "Diary of Burton," ii. 391; iii. 422—425.—Ed.

who were for carrying matters with a high hand: though the chief minister, the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, the Duke of Marlborough and others, by their encouragement and approbation, caused a considerable writer, Dr. Charles Davenant, about that time, to set forth a book* wherein he inforced what her Majesty had recommended from the throne, and endeavoured to bring all sorts of men to fling aside their heats and animosities, and unite in their own defence. Of this book, Lord Halifax had the perusal, sheet by sheet, and added many excellent remarks.

The young Duke of Bedford fell in with this Bill against occasional Conformity,† which surprised many; considering that he thus sided with his father's enemies, and deserted his firm friends. Though it had a quick passage through the Commons, the Bill was strenuously opposed in the House of Peers. It was, not without difficulty, admitted to a second reading, and was then rejected by a majority of twelve or thirteen. The writer of the Life of Archbishop Tennison‡ says, that "his grace, by the assistance of fourteen other bishops, had such an influence over many of the temporal lords, that it was rejected after the second reading," by such a majority as that I have now mentioned.§

* Essays on peace at home, and war abroad, 1704." *Biog. Brit.* iv. 651.—Ed.

† See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 69.—Ed.

‡ P. 103.—C.

§ See *supra*, p. 5.—Ed.

The Queen, in a speech to this Parliament, Dec. 17th, acquainted them with a plot carried on in Scotland, by the emissaries of France. The Lords examined into it, and had several brought before them, who, being suspected of treasonable practices, were taken into custody by her Majesty's messengers. Of which proceedings the Commons complained, and appeared to carry their resentment so high, that there seemed some danger of a breach between the Houses.

Some time after, there came out a Proclamation that offered a reward of 500*l.* to any one that should discover to the Dukes of Devon and Somerset, the Earls of Sunderland and Scarborough, and the Lords Townshend, Wharton, and Somers, (being appointed Lords Commissioners to examine into the Scotch conspiracy,) four letters which were thought to have a relation to that matter: and the Lords came to a resolution, that it did appear to that House, that there had been a dangerous conspiracy carried on for the raising a rebellion in Scotland, and invading that kingdom with a French power, in order to the subverting her Majesty's Government, and bringing in the pretended Prince of Wales: and that it was the opinion of that House, that nothing had given so much encouragement to this conspiracy, as the succession of the Crown of Scotland not being declared to be in the Princess Sophia, &c.: and that her Majesty be addressed, to use her endeavours to have the succession of the Crown of

Scotland settled as in England; and then they would do all in their power to promote an entire Union.

They also resolved, that Mr. Ferguson's papers relating to the Scotch Plot, and by him delivered to the Cabinet Council, were false, scandalous and seditious, and contrived to stifle the conspiracy, &c. and ordered Ferguson to be committed to Newgate, and prosecuted, by the Attorney-general, for treasonable practices.*

But after all the noise it made, this Scottish plot seems to have been a design that was formed by some that pretended to have a great love for their country, to deliver it from the dominion which they thought England usurped. After the session of Parliament, Robert Harley, Esq. succeeeded the Earl of Nottingham, (who had been charged with not doing his duty in his examination of Sir John Maclean, concerning the Scottish plot) as Secretary of State.

This year, the Duke of Marlborough took Bonne, Huy, Liege, and Guelder; and the Elector of Bavaria, Ratisbonne, Ulm, Memmingen, and Ausburgh; and sadly ravaged all those parts of Germany; which occasioned great clamours and complaints.

Leopold, the Emperor, in September, declared his second son, the Archduke Charles, King of Spain; he and his eldest son Joseph, King of the Romans, renouncing all pretensions to that monarchy. The

* *Burnet*, ii. 372, 373. 377.—Ed.

said King of Spain, leaving Vienna, travelled to the Hague, and thence into England. He was treated with great magnificence, and sailed for Lisbon in our fleet.*

November 27th. The most violent storm of wind ever known in England. It began between eleven or twelve at night, and continued till seven next morning, blowing down a multitude of chimneys, tops of houses, and even whole buildings, tearing up a great number of trees by the roots, and breaking off others in the middle, beating several spires off from the steeples, rolling up great quantities of lead like scrolls of parchment, and blowing them off the churches, halls, and houses.

In this hurricane several people were killed in their beds; as Dr. Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells,† (who was succeeded by Dr. George Hooper,) and his lady, and Mr. Sympson, the money scrivener in Threadneedle-street. Others were wounded. The damage done in London and Westminster was reckoned to amount to a million sterling; and that in the city of Bristol, to little less than 150,000*l.*; while the northern parts of the island felt little of the effects. But our loss at land was inconsiderable, to what we sustained at sea. Several ships of the royal navy were cast away ;‡ many belonging to pri-

* Jan. 1704. *Chron. Hist.* i. 329.—Ed.

† See Vol. i. p. 74.—Ed.

‡ "Fourteen, in which 1500 seamen perished." *Burnet*, ii. 353; *Chron. Hist.* i. 328.—Ed.

vate persons destroyed, and abundance of brave men irrecoverably lost. A public fast was appointed upon this account, and observed religiously.

This year (1703) came out Mr. Ollyffe's "Defence of Ministerial Conformity;"* and "the Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England," by Mr. Hoadly. Both were in answer to the 10th Chapter of my Abridgment, in which I acted but the part of an historian, in representing the sense and reasons of the Nonconformists, ejected in 1662, and was not aware of assaulting any. Doctor Nichols, however, speaking of Mr. Hoadly's performance, says,† (how truly let others judge,) that "arguing from my concessions, he stabs and cuts the throat of the cause which I had undertaken to defend."‡ Notwithstanding which, I this very year

* "To the Church of England, in answer to the misrepresentations of the terms thereof, by Mr. Calamy, in the 10th Chapter of the Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life."

The author was, I apprehend, the Rev. John Ollyffe, who is mentioned in *Magna Brittannia* (i. 220) published 1720, as then Rector of Hedgerley Dean, Bucks. See also *Athen. Oxon.* (Bliss.) iv. *533*.

It will appear, in the sequel, that Mr. Ollyffe was disposed, rather to bring over the Nonconformists by conciliation, than to widen the breach.—Ed.

† "Apparat. ad Defens. Eccles. Anglic." p. 110.—C.

"Gains a perfect conquest over his adversary." *Defence*, p. 129.—Ed.

‡ "However," says Dr. Calamy, "it yet survives; and as it unhappily falls out, the frankness of those who are most zealous for the Church, and who are not backward, upon occasion, to declare against such a soft sense of the terms of Conformity, as

ventured to publish the first part of my "Defence of Moderate Nonconformity," in answer both to him and Mr. Ollyffe, with a postscript containing some remarks on a tract of Mr. Dorrington's, intituled "The Dissenting Ministry in Religion censured and condemned from the Holy Scriptures." As far as I could judge, it was well accepted.

October 28th this year, died Dr. John Wallis,* Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, and last surviving member of the Assembly of Divines, of whom some notice has been taken in this work before.†

To bring Scotland into the Protestant succession, which the English Peers and the ministry in general, were convinced was so necessary to the common safety, and preventing confusion, some alterations were, in the beginning of this year, made in the Scottish Ministry. The Earl of Cromarty was made principal Secretary, in the room of the Duke of Queensbury, and James Johnstone, Esq. Clerk Register, in the room of Phillipaugh, and the Marquis of Tweeddale, Commissioner. The Queen in her letter to the Scottish Parliament, had this expression among others.

"The main thing that we recommend to you, and which we recommend to you with all the earnestness we are capable of, is the settling of the succession in

these gentlemen contend for, helps to keep it alive." See "Abridg. of Baxter," pp. 659, 660.—Ed.

* "In his 88th year." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* xii. 402.—Ed.

† Vol. i. pp. 272–275.—Ed.

the Protestant line, as that which is absolutely necessary for your own peace and happiness, as well as our quiet and security in all our dominions, and for the reputation of our affairs abroad; and, consequently, for the strengthening the Protestant interest everywhere."

The Commissioner, in his speech, told the Parliament, that the whole business of the plot should be laid before them, and that her Majesty doubted not but their inquiries into these practices would end in their laying down solid measures for preventing them for the time to come. The Secretary, Lord Cromarty, in his speech, July 11, was for obviating and removing an aspersion upon the Queen's candour and honour. "Some," he said, "would persuade others to believe that the Queen had a secret will in the affair depending, contrary to her express will, revealed and declared by her in her royal letter:" an insinuation, the like of which, I verily believe, was never made before, by any statesman or politician.

However, it was a commonly received opinion, that the succession, itself, was not at that time sincerely and cordially intended, either by the ministry there, or by those that managed the Scotch affairs here. The House resolved, not to name a successor, till they had a previous treaty with England, for regulating their commerce, &c. and a Bill was brought in for securing the religion, liberty, and independency of that nation, which having passed, received the royal assent. In an address, drawn up

before their prorogation, they signified their utter dislike of the examination of the Scottish plot by the English House of Lords.

By this Act of security the whole Scotch nation was put in arms, and so, as it were, into a capacity of compelling the English by force to submit to their terms. The ministry in England was blamed by many, for suffering the royal assent to be given to this Bill. Perhaps, had they not here given way, they had thrown all things into confusion. This, at least, was their apprehension.

To balance this, a Bill was brought into the English Parliament, for securing the kingdom of England, from the apparent dangers that might arise, from several Acts lately passed in the Parliament of Scotland, which passed both Houses in a few days. The purport was, to enable her Majesty to appoint Commissioners to treat of an union with Scotland. It was thereby provided, that the natives of Scotland not already settled, and continually residing in the dominions of England, should be reputed aliens, unless Scotland came into the Protestant succession; that effectual care should be taken to prevent the exporting wool to Scotland, and the importing of Scotch linen hither, and the conveying of horses, arms, or ammunition from England or Ireland to Scotland. Thus did England and Scotland fence against each other. This last provision effectually brought on the Union, and was deservedly reckoned my Lord Treasurer Godolphin's masterpiece for

saving himself, his friends, and the nation, at once.

In the mean time, the Empire of Germany was miserably destroyed by fire and sword, as represented by Count Wratislaw, in a Memorial to our Queen. Whereupon, the Duke of Marlborough, in concert with the States-General, determined to do all that was possible to give an immediate check to the French and Bavarians in that country. To the amazement of all Europe he took a march up to the Danube, and got the better of the Bavarians, in the battle of Schellenbergh. After which, he took possession of Donawert, by which he had an open passage into the heart of the Duke of Bavaria's country. He then seized Neubourg, and invested and took Rain, and the Elector (in prospect of considerable additional forces from the French,) refusing the terms that were proposed to him, the Duke with his troops ravaged his country, as far as Munich, his capital.

Aug. 13. N. S., followed the battle of Blenheim or Hochstet, in which he gained one of the most glorious victories, over a numerous army, of which we have any account in history.*

* Many on the enemy's side were cut off, as well in the action as in the retreat; and upwards of thirty squadrons of the French were pushed into the Danube, where the greatest part of them perished. At the same time Mareschal Tallard, with several of his general officers, were taken prisoners. In Blenheim twenty-six entire battalions, and twelve squadrons of dragoons were forced to surrender themselves prisoners at discretion. All their tents were taken standing, with their cannon

After all this, Ulm was besieged and taken, and both Landau and Traerbach surrendered. Gibraltar also was now taken by our fleet, (July 24th) and soon after, there was a sea-fight between Sir George Rook, and Count de Tholouse, near Malaga, in which it was afterwards said, that both beat, and yet both ran away. For all these successes, a Thanksgiving was solemnized. Her Majesty came in state to St .Paul's, September 7th. Dr. Sherlock, the Dean, preached.

Addresses afterwards ran through the nation. Among the rest, the Protestant Dissenting ministers in and about London, (twelve, in the name of the rest,) waited on her Majesty (Sept. 25) with an humble address.*

and ammunition, as also a great number of standards, kettle-drums, and colours in the action. The loss on the enemy's side upon the whole, was reckoned between twenty and thirty thousand men, besides 13,000 that were taken prisoners. The confederates took also 100 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 129 colours, 171 standards, 17 pair of kettle-drums, 3,600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 laden mules, 24 barrels, and 8 casks of silver: and the loss on the side of the confederates was very small in proportion.—C.

* In the following words:

"May it please your Majesty.

"Having offered our solemn praises to Almighty God, on the day appointed by your Majesty's Proclamation, we crave leave to congratulate your Majesty, upon the glorious victories obtained by the forces under the command of the renowned Duke of Marlborough, whose extraordinary courage, conduct, and fidelity, demonstrate your Majesty's great wisdom, and care of your kingdoms, in the choice of a Captain-general.

"We sincerely rejoice in the Divine favour, that hath signally

The Bill against occasional Conformity, was, by Mr. Bromley, brought into the Parliament again this year, (1704) and it was proposed to tack it to a Money Bill to secure its passing: but that was opposed, by 251 against 134. Yet the Bill went through the Commons, and was carried up to the other House, where it could not now obtain a second reading, but was thrown out by 71 against 50. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Tennison, made a warm speech upon this occasion.*

rewarded your Majesty's firm adherence to the Protestant religion; your Christian moderation, and earnest concern for the union and welfare of all your people, by making you the chief instrument of preserving the Reformed Religion, and liberties of Europe; rescuing the distressed empire from imminent ruin, and reducing the exorbitant power of France.

"Permit us to assure your Majesty, that our principles oblige us to adhere to your Royal title; and that from a just sense of our duty and interest, we will fervently pray for your Majesty's long life, attended with such success to your arms and councils, as shall issue in a safe and honourable peace, the relief of the oppressed Protestants abroad, and the security of the Protestant succession at home; together with such unity and reformation of manners among all your subjects, as become these eminent favours of Providence."—C.

* In which, among others, there were these expressions:—

"I think the practice of occasional Conformity, as used by the Dissenters, is so far from deserving the title of a vile hypocrisy, that it is the duty of all moderate Dissenters, upon their own principles, to do it. The employing persons of a different religion from the Established, has been practised in all countries where liberty of conscience has been allowed. We have gone further already in excluding Dissenters than any other country has done.

One of the temporal lords* said, publicly in the House of Peers, that "if they passed that bill,

"Whatever reasons there were to apprehend our religion in danger from the Papists, when the Test Act was made, yet there does not seem the least danger to it from the Dissenters, now: on the other hand, I can see very plain inconveniencies from this Bill at present. As it is brought in, this last time, indeed, they have added a preamble, which though it was in the first edition of the Bill, was left out in the second, namely, that the Act of Toleration should be always kept inviolable: but the Toleration Act being to take away all the penalties that a man might incur by going to a separate congregation, and the occasional Bill being to lay new penalties upon those that do it, how they can say, that this is not, in itself, a violation of the other, I cannot very easily comprehend. I doubt it will put people in mind of what passed in France, where every edict against the Protestants, began with a protestation, that the Edict of Nants ought always be preserved inviolable, till that very edict in which it was in express words repealed.

"At a time that all Europe is engaged in a bloody and expensive war; that this nation has not only such considerable foreign enemies to deal withal, but has a party in her own bowels, ready upon all occasions to bring in a Popish Pretender, and involve us all in the same, or rather worse calamities than those from which, with so much blood and treasure, we have been freed: at a time that the Protestant Dissenters (however they may be in the wrong by separating from us, yet) are heartily united with us against the common foes to our religion and government: what advantage those, who are in earnest for defending these things, can have by lessening the number of such as are firmly united in this common cause, I cannot for my life imagine. Therefore, I am for throwing out the Bill, without giving it another reading."—See "The Life of Archbishop Tennison," pp. 103, 104.—C.

* "Lord Mohun." See "Proceedings," ii. 167.—Ed.

they had as good tack the pretended Prince of Wales to it." There was, indeed, a general indignation against the tackers. The Queen herself signified to the Parliament at their rising, that "they had so narrowly escaped the fatal effects of unreasonable humour and animosity in that session, that it ought to be a sufficient warning against all dangerous experiments for the future." This tack would, in reality, have been fatal; and if it had succeeded in the manner as some men wished, it must have endangered the liberty of all Europe, as well as the Protestant religion, at home and abroad.

Though the Dissenters, for this time, escaped the Bill against occasional Conformity, yet the most strenuous application could not prevent the imposing the Sacramental Test, this year, upon their brethren in Ireland.* A clause was inserted to this purpose, in an Irish bill, entitled, "A Bill to prevent the farther Growth of Popery." It was commonly said to have been inserted here, in council, by the Lords Nottingham and Rochester, after the Bill was sent from Ireland.

The Dissenters, of whom there was a considerable number in the Irish House of Commons, when they found the Bill returned with such a clause inserted, made little or no opposition to it, but rather chose to acquiesce, and suffer all the damage to which they should this way be exposed, than let such a bill drop, which they knew to be so much wanted against

* See my "Continuation," ii. 975.—C.

Popery, and which was likely to be of so great benefit to the security of the Protestant interest in general. They exercised self-denial, and sacrificed themselves and their brethren for the public good.

To the honour of the Dissenters, whom some are for running down most unmercifully, it deserves to be remembered, that on Dec. 17, 1715, a bill was ordered to be brought in, in the Irish House of Commons, for exempting them from the penalty of former laws for serving in the Militia, when thereunto called by lawful authority; because, in some parts of the kingdom, there would not have been found proper officers enough to command, if the Dissenters continued to be excluded. Certainly, a time will come, when such things as these will be considered, soberly and calmly, as they deserve.

I, this year, (1704,) published the second part of my "Defence of Moderate Nonconformity, in answer to the Reflections of Mr. Ollyffe and Mr. Hoadly," with an Introduction that contains the merits of the cause in debate. Here, I that had before but acted as an historian, and represented the sense of others as fairly and faithfully as I was able, laid down my own principles, and so became accountable for them to any one that would fairly take them into consideration.

I never published any thing so maturely weighed as this Introduction. Being desirous of getting all the help I could, I freely commmunicated it to several of my brethren, who signified their concurrence.

That I might know the utmost that could be said against the latitude into which I had run, I sent it with a letter to Mr. Williams, begging he would let me have his strongest objections against my scheme. This I the rather did, because I knew he was in his judgment for the divine right of Presbytery, though there were but very few among our ministers that I ever could discern to be of that mind.

He sent me word, some time after, that he had read it with care, and thought a discourse of that nature might, in the circumstances we were in, be seasonable enough; and, therefore, would not, by any means, discourage me; but added, that when a proper season came, he apprehended he could overthrow the whole fabric, with ease. When I saw him next, I told him, frankly, that the principles there advanced were spreading so wide, and prevailing so generally among us, that if he neglected the present opportunity, he might afterwards find it very difficult to make way for other notions. But he did not alter his opinion, to the last.

However, I had the full approbation of a great number of my brethren and as a testimony of it, they invited me to a handsome entertainment in Ironmonger-lane, where they gave me their common thanks for the service I had done their cause, by fixing it on so firm a foot. I had also a message from the ingenious Mr. Locke,* letting me know that he had read this Introduction, and thought

* He died October 28, this year, aged 72.—Ed.

it such a defence of Nonconformity as could not be answered; and that standing to the principles there laid down, I had no occasion to be afraid of any antagonist.

In the last visit I made Mr. Howe, a very few days before he died, speaking of this Introduction, and signifying his hearty approbation of it, he made it his request to me, that, at a proper juncture, I would take it off the stocks, (as he was pleased to express it,) make it more general, without a reference to any particular persons or writings, and publish it as an Essay towards an Ecclesiastical Settlement. It was his opinion it might be of considerable service. No such juncture has yet presented, and I know not whether there may, in my time. If not, I recommend the care of it to my son, if it should please God he should survive me.

Not long after publishing my "Defence of Moderate Nonconformity," part 2, I received an anonymous letter, intimating that the writer, and some other young students, were at that time in suspense between Conformity and Nonconformity, and waited, with some impatience, for the issue of the debate between Mr. Hoadly and me, begging I would hasten what was yet behind, and mentioning some particulars in which it was desired I would be as clear and full as I was able. The letter was so drawn up, that I was at a loss to judge whether it came from a friend or an enemy. I was very desirous, if possible, to discover the writer, and have some personal conversation with him. I showed the letter to such of

my brethren as came in my way, hoping one or other of them, might happen to know the hand.

At length, meeting Mr. Cunningham (who lived then at Manchester, and was come to make a visit in town, though he afterwards came and settled among us,) at Hamlin's Coffee-house, I gave it him to read, and observed he smiled at reading it. I asked his thoughts, whether it came from a friend or an enemy? he told me that he well knew the hand, and that I might be assured it came from no enemy, but from an honest worthy person, though exceedingly modest. He added, that the writer had been his pupil, and was as yet unsettled; and had appointed him to meet him about a little business at that house, within a quarter of an hour. We agreed, that I should go to a vintner's in that neighbourhood, and wait for him, and when he had done his business with the young gentleman, he should bring him with him, without the least notice whom he was going to; and that I should leave it to him, first to break the matter to the gentleman, after we had been some time engaged in discourse.

According to agreement, in a very little time Mr. Cunningham came, and brought his friend, who, I observed, blushed upon perceiving that I was the person Mr. Cunningham came to see as his friend, without naming me. After salutations, we entered into free discourse about divers matters, in city and country. The gentleman seemed very easy, and not

to have the least apprehension that he was discovered. At length, Mr. Cunningham asked him, what occasion he had to write a letter to his friend, Mr. Calamy, without setting his name to it. He started at the question, and asked, what occasion there was, when the world was so wide, to fasten any thing of that nature upon him? Mr. Cunningham told him that need not seem at all strange, since he was so well acquainted with his hand. He added, he was glad of the opportunity of bringing us two together, that we might be acquainted, and come to freedom in discourse, which he apprehended would be no disadvantage.

I, thereupon, invited him to come and see me, and promised to treat him with all imaginable frankness; and if, after he had himself made trial, he could prevail with the other young gentlemen to come with him, they also should be welcome. We entered into a little discourse about some passages in his letter, before we parted, and he promised to come and converse with me afterwards, and did so, but never could prevail with the others. One of them, an ingenious youth, went soon after to Cambridge, and outspending himself, grew uneasy and melancholy, and at length distracted; turned Papist, took a musket on his shoulder and went into Flanders, and I never could hear with any certainty what became of him. My young gentleman, on the contrary, adhered to the principles of his education, settled in the ministry, and became very useful

among the Dissenters, though he since died, much lamented.

About this time, the Dissenters of the three several denominations, showed very plainly, that they were not for confining liberty to themselves, and those of their own way, by letters that they wrote, signed with their names, into New England, about some laws there against the Quakers. But I here refer to my Abridgment.*

Oct. 28, this year (1704) died John Locke, Esq.† who knew how to write controversy, and differ in conversation, with equal strength and manners. This gentleman was the author of several of the pamphlets that are collected together in the "State Tracts," of King Charles's reign; particularly with respect to the Dissenters.

1705. The late attempt to tack the Bill against Occasional Conformity to a Money Bill, gave the low Church party an advantageous opportunity of exerting themselves in the election of a new House of Commons this year, and this proved a Whiggish Parliament.

The Scottish Parliament met June 28, and the Duke of Argyle was High Commissioner. The Queen most earnestly recommended to them the settlement of the succession in that kingdom in the Protestant line, and the passing such an act for treating of a Union between the two kingdoms, as had passed in England. But the Scots were not yet to be brought into the Protestant Succession.

* P. 670.—C. † See *supra*, pp. 30, 31.—Ed.

However, they now passed an Act for a Treaty with England; and as the English Parliament left it to the Queen to nominate Commissioners for England, so did they also leave it to her, to nominate the Commissioners for Scotland, at the motion of the Duke of Hamilton.

The English Parliament met Oct. 28. John Smith, Esq., was chosen Speaker of the Commons. The two Houses passed a Bill for repealing the clause with which the Scots were so much offended, by which the natives of Scotland were to be aliens, after December 25. And the Queen intimated that the good disposition that they had shown in doing their part so fully towards an Union with Scotland, was very acceptable to her, and that she hoped it would prove for the advantage and quiet of both kingdoms.

Before the Parliament met, a malicious pamphlet was published, entitled, "The Memorial of the Church of England;"* which intimated that the Queen made use of wily *Volpones* in her administration, and advanced the adversaries of the Church to the chief places of trust; persons that with a prevarication as shameful as their ingratitude, pretended to vote and speak for it themselves, while they solicited and bribed others, with pensions and places to be against it! This, as we commonly say, was dagger out of sheath. High Church was enraged; and, as M. Mesnager expressed it,† "the

* See "Abridg. of Baxter," pp. 680, 81.—Ed.

† "Minutes of his Negociation," p. 42.—C.

heads of the party had not the prudence to behave when displaced, as if they ever expected to be admitted again."

This memorial, said to be written by Counsellor Pooley and Dr. Drake,* was designed to influence the elections, and the persons elected, by representing the Whiggish administration at that time, as contriving the destruction of the Church, and countenancing its greatest enemies. It was soon presented by the Grand Jury of London and Middlesex as a false, scandalous, and traitorous libel; and ordered to be burnt† before the Court while it was sitting, and before the Royal Exchange.

There was afterwards a warm debate in the Lords,‡ whether the Church of England was really in danger. Many speeches were made on both sides.§

* The printer "charged Sir Humphrey Mackworth with being the author," but was "not able to prove it." *Chron. Hist.* i. 339.—Ed.

† "By the Hangman." *Ibid*, p. 338.—Ed.

‡ Dec. 6, 1705. See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 154—163.—Ed.

§ The Earl of Rochester assigned three causes for the Church's danger: the "Security Act in Scotland; the heir of the House of Hanover not being sent for over;" and "the not passing the Occasional Bill."

Lord Halifax said, that, "soon after the accession of King William to the crown, this cry of the Church's danger began, and was continued all his reign, but with what ground he was yet unapprised; that upon her Majesty's happy succession the complaint for some time was silent; but, that when she was pleased to make some alterations in her ministry, it was immediately revived, grew clamorous, and had ever since continued; and then concluded that the Church was now in no manner of

At length, the House by a majority of sixty-one to thirty, resolved, that "the Church of England, as by law established, is in a most safe and flourishing condition, and whosoever goes about to suggest and insinuate that the Church is in danger is an enemy to the Queen, the Church, and the Kingdom," in which resolution the Commons afterwards, concurred.*

A little after, Mr. Toland published "the Memorial of the State of England, in opposition to the Memorial of the Church." Motions were therein made for an universal toleration, &c. That author had written divers letters, both to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Dissenting ministers, of the three denominations, upon that subject, with abundance of ostentation.† That gentleman was with

danger." He intimated withal, that men by raising groundless jealousies, could mean no less than to embroil us at home, and to defeat all our glorious designs abroad. The Marquis of Wharton declared, with great frankness, that he "could learn nothing," from what had been said about the Church's danger, but that some men "were out of place."—C.

Lord Wharton named, "the Duke of B., the Earl of R., the Earl of N.," adding, "if those letters meant some noble Peers then present, he remembered very well that some of them sat in the High Commission Court, and then made no complaints of the Church's danger." See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 154-160; "Abridg. of Baxter," pp. 683, 684.—Ed.

* "Dec. 14. Both Houses waited on her Majesty with their joint vote, that the Church was not in danger." See "Proceedings of the Lords," pp. 160. 162.—Ed.

† There is a letter of thanks written to him by Mr. John Shower on this occasion, in a "Collection of several pieces of Mr. John Toland," ii. 356.—C.

me, about this time, offering to show me his MS.; and intimating that he was able to drop several things in favour of Dissenters, to vindicate them from that narrowness they were charged with, which he said would come with more decency from such an one as he, than from among themselves. But I knew so much of that gentleman, and the obnoxiousness of his character, that I could not think it prudent to give him encouragement. I was inclined to answer him in the words of the poet, *non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis, tempus eget.* I knew not how to imagine that his defence could be for our credit, or do us any service.

Lord Haversham made a complaining speech in Parliament, on the hindrance this year given to the Duke of Marlborough by the Dutch, from engaging the French, after he had forced their lines. He complained much, also, of the decay of trade, &c. and made a motion for inviting over the Princess Sophia of Hanover: but it was determined that question should not be put. The Lords only thought fit to bring in a Bill, for the farther security of the Protestant succession. In December, an Act passed for naturalizing the Princess Sophia and her issue. A motion was made in the Commons, by Sir Thomas Hanmer, for inviting that Princess over, and seconded by Mr. Benson and Mr. Bromley. It was yet dropped as not seasonable.

Mr. Ollyffe, this year (1705) published his "second Defence of Ministerial Conformity:" and Mr. Hoadly, his "Defence of the Reasonableness of Confor-

mity." I considered both of them in my "Defence of moderate Nonconformity, Part III.; containing a vindication of the silenced ministers for continuing their ministry; of the reasons of the people, for adhering to them and their successors; and of the occasional conformity of them and their adherents."* About the same time, Thomas Edwards, M.A. of St. John's, in Cambridge, published "Diocesan Episcopacy proved from Holy Scripture;" with a letter directed to me, in the room of a dedicatory epistle. But the poor man's brain was so disordered, that he needed pity rather than an answer.

* "Abridg. of Baxter," p. 691. Previous to the publication of the Third Defence, Mr. Ollyffe, addressed a letter to Mr. Tong, to be communicated to his opponent, inviting to an amicable adjustment of their controversy, by mutual concessions. This letter from the original in the British Museum, will be found in *Appendix*, No. 1.

Hoadley, in a "*P. S.* relating to the third part of Mr. Calamy's Defence," took leave of the controversy in a very ill-humour. After complaining "with what insolence and contempt he often treats his adversaries;" denouncing his "false representation of them and their principles," and "his whole behaviour, from the very first beginning of this controversy to the last word he hath written in it," the learned and reverend conformist thus unceremoniously concludes with a threat, which I am not aware was ever executed:—

"Were I a well-wisher to his cause, I would entreat him to alter the method of handling it; but if he be determined to go on as he hath begun, he must not wonder, if he should, at length raise himself up an adversary, who may handle him as he deserves. For my own part, I wish him well, and so take leave." See "The Reasonableness of Conformity," &c. (1712) p. 566.—Ed.

September 29, Mr. Hoadley, who now became a strenuous asserter of our civil and religious rights, preached a sermon before the Lord Mayor, from *Rom.* xiii. 1. about the duties of governors and subjects. He represented the public good as the end of the magistrate's office, and the warrantableness of resistance when that end is destroyed. At this sermon some were much disturbed. Among the rest, the Bishop of London had a fling at it, in the Lords, when "the danger of the Church" was under debate;* and several assaulted him from the press. He defended himself in his "Measures of submission to

* Dec. 6, 1705, when the Bishop (Compton) complained that "sermons were preached wherein rebellion was authorized, and resistance to the higher powers encouraged," Bishop Burnet said, "his Lordship ought to have been the last man to complain of that sermon; for if the doctrine of that sermon was not good, he did not know what defence his Lordship could make for his appearing in arms at Northampton." See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 156.

Burnet, relating how the Princess Anne fled from her father, in 1688, accompanied by Bishop Compton, says, "they went northward as far as Northampton. In a little while, a small army was formed about her, who chose to be commanded by the Bishop of London, of which he too easily accepted." See "Own Time," ii. 792.

This Bishop "is said to have been in the field at Edge Hill fight, in his cradle," and to have "trailed a pike in Flanders, under the Duke of York. Upon the Restoration, he was made a cornet in Lord Oxford's horse. Afterwards he went to Cambridge." See "Lives of English Bishops," (1731) pp. 300, 301; *Biog. Brit.* iv. 53.—Ed.

the Civil Magistrate," answered by Dr. Atterbury, in a sermon preached before the London clergy, in vindication of the doctrine of Non-resistance.*

April 2, died the celebrated Mr. John Howe,† some account of whose life I have since published. He was succeeded in the Lecture at Salter's Hall, by Mr. William Tong.‡

In May, died Mr. Joseph Kentish,§ at Bristol, which was a great loss to that city.

There was this year (1705) printed at London, the New Testament, 12mo. in modern vulgar Greek,‖ with a design to be given away to the poor Grecians in the Levant, and other parts, among whom any thing of that kind was a great rarity. The chief encourager and manager of this impression was M. Ludolph, a native of Germany,¶ who had been a

* "Concio ad clerum Londinensem, habita in Ecclesia S. Elphegi," 1709. *Biog. Brit.* i. 338.—Ed.

† Aged seventy-four. *Account*, pp. 235–238; *Cont.* p. 257. See Vol. i. pp. 340–342, 344.—Ed.

‡ Author of "The Life and Death of Matthew Henry, 1716," his "Funeral Sermon," &c.—Ed.

§ See Vol. i. pp. 127–129, 139, 311, 312, 316–318.—Ed.

‖ From a copy "printed divers years before, in two volumes, in Holland," and thus procured by "the Bishop of Worcester," Dr. Stillingfleet—

"An ordinary man, dressed like a seaman, came to his door, desired to speak with him, produced those volumes, and offered them for sale;" which, "after the man had given some plausible account how he came by them, he purchased." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* viii. 352.—Ed.

¶ See an account of him in the "Lives and Characters of the

great traveller in the Eastern parts,* and an eminently pious gentleman, of good learning,† and full of benignity to mankind, with whom I became acquainted by means of Dr. Frederick Slare.

most illustrious persons, British and foreign, who died in the year 1712," pp. 185, 186, &c.—C.

Henry William Ludolph, "nephew of Job Ludolph, the celebrated Ethiopic historian," died in England, Jan. 1710, aged fifty-four. He had been "appointed, in 1709, one of the Commissioners to manage the charities" for the relief of "a vast number of Palatines," who then "came into England." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* viii. 352.—Ed.

* Particularly "Muscovy, at that time hardly known to travellers." There "he gave such uncommon proofs of his knowledge, that the Muscovite priests took him for a conjurer."

As "Ludolph understood music," to which the "Muscovites were then" almost "strangers, he had the honour to play before the Czar, at Moscow, who expressed the most wonderful surprize and delight."

Ludolph "published, 1696," from "the University press, Oxford, a Muscovite grammar, by which the natives might be taught their own tongue in a regular form," designed as a "return for the civilities received in Muscovy." It was undertaken "soon as his health would permit," after he had "returned to London in 1694, when he was cut for the stone."

He travelled "in 1698, from Smyrna to Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Cairo." Besides "gratifying his great desire to inform himself of the state of the Christian church in the Levant," Ludolph examined "the productions of nature and art, and the government and religion of the countries, through which he passed." *Ibid.* pp. 350, 351.—Ed.

† In Muscovy, "he met with some Jews," and "was so great a master of the Hebrew tongue, that he could talk with them in that language." *Ibid.* p. 350.—Ed.

The impression was printed by the help of a contribution,* to which I subscribed five pounds. By letters afterwards received from abroad (several of which I saw), it appeared that though a good number of these Testaments were committed to the care of merchants† to be dispersed among those to whom they might be of use, it was no easy thing to meet with any that would receive them, or that discovered any disposition to make a good use of them; which was very affecting, and just matter of concern and trouble.

1706. George Augustus, Electoral Prince of

* In which "the Bishop of Worcester, was distinguished." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* viii. 352.—Ed.

† For whom, however, Ludolph had not prepared a very favourable reception, in the character of Christian advocates.

"In his passage to Alexandria, he was reading our Saviour's sermon on the mount, in the Arabic New Testament, printed at the charge of Mr. Boyle. The Captain, having listened some time, asked 'what book that was?' Ludolph answering, that 'it was the system of the Christian religion,' he replied, 'that could not possibly be, since they practised quite the contrary.'

"Ludolph rejoined, that 'he was mistaken; and that he did not wonder at it, as the Turks had little opportunity of conversing with any others than sailors and merchants, few of whom they reckoned to be good Christians.' The Turk seemed to be very well satisfied, and thenceforward was extremely kind to him." *Ibid.*

The learned physician, Linacre, "a little before his death, reading *Matt.* v. 34, threw away the book with these words: 'We are not Christians, or the Gospel is wrong: we swear too much, or Christ forbids too much.'" See "Diary of Burton," ii. 278 —Ed.

Brunswick Lunemburg, (since George II.) was elected Knight of the Garter, and made a peer of England, under the title of Duke of Cambridge. The ensigns of honour were carried to the Court of Hanover, (with the Act of Naturalization and of Succession in the Protestant line) by Lord Halifax.

But the great event of this year, and for which it will be most remarkable in future ages, was the Union between England and Scotland, much for the strength and safety of North and South Britain; and which her Majesty oft declared one of the greatest glories of her reign. Such an union had long been desired, and divers times attempted, both before and after the two crowns were united in the person of King James,* but without effect. Whereas, at this time, each side being willing, (and perhaps it showed as great a skill in politics to bring about that willingness, as ever was known) the measure was compassed effectually.

The English Dissenters were very much for this Union, as the most effectual way for securing the Protestant succession, and even the continuance of their ecclesiastical establishment in North Britain, against such as were, by principle, bent upon opposing, or might be tempted to betray it. With great earnestness, therefore, did they recommend the forwarding the Union to their friends in Scotland; Barrington Shute, Esq. (since Lord Barrington,) being sent down by the Government into the North,

* See "Diary of Burton," i. 346, 347, 353, ii. 57.—Ed.

to encourage the nobility and gentry there to fall in with the Union ;* Mr. Christopher Taylor bore him company. It was his province to deal with the ministers, and their endeavours succeeded. Sometimes they were not a little exposed, and had not the mobs been curbed and restrained, they would have made but a very ill hand of it.†

* "During the prosecution of his legal studies," says Dr. Towers, "he was applied to, at the instigation of Lord Somers. Flattered at the age of twenty-four, by an application which spoke the opinion entertained of his abilities and influence, by the greatest lawyer and statesman of the age, he readily sacrificed the opening prospects of his profession, and undertook the arduous employment. The happy execution of it was rewarded, in 1708, by the place of Commissioner of the Customs." *Biog. Brit.* i. 624.—Ed.

† See "Abridg. of Baxter," i. 695. Whoever reads the "Memoirs concerning the affairs of Scotland, from Queen Anne's accession to the Throne, to the Commencement of the Union of the Two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, 1714," said to be written by George Lockhart of Carnwath, Esq.; the "Memoirs of John Kerr, of Kerrsland, Esq. 1726;" and the "History of the Union of Great Britain, 1709," by Mr. Daniel De Foe, will discern great reason to admire, that a general insurrection, and the coming down of numerous companies of people that were against the Union, from all parts of Scotland, particularly the Cameronians from the West, and the Highlanders from the North, (which was very near being brought to bear) did not produce such a storm, as to overturn both Parliament and Union, and create a general confusion.—C.

"In 1706," De Foe "had been sent into Scotland to assist in establishing an Union. In 1709, he published 'The History of the Union,' with dedications to the Queen and the Duke of Queensbury." *Biog. Brit.* v. 61–63.—Ed.

The said Union was the more to be valued, and therefore the more seasonable, because the preservation of our religion and liberties depended on the establishing the succession in the line of Brunswick, which there was no other way to compass. There are many things relating to this important matter, that deserve particular observation.

The Scots were so wretchedly and generally uneasy about the business of Darien, on which their hearts were so much set, that the Court was necessitated to give way to many things, (otherwise not to have been chosen,) for fear of mutinies, and even of an absolute rebellion. They suffered the Act of Security to pass in Scotland, whereby the whole nation was not only empowered, but ordered and required to rendezvous and discipline themselves under their own proper officers. They armed immediately, and rendezvoused at every parish church in the kingdom, twice a week, and were instructed in military discipline.

Upon this, the English Whigs threatened to impeach the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, apprehending him to act in concert with the Scots in favour of the Pretender. He, to save himself, did his utmost to persuade the Scots to agree to the Hanover succession, and proposed an incorporating Union, as the only expedient to bring that about. Queensbury and his party were turned out of the Scotch ministry because of a plot that was much talked of, (but which, to this day, in great part remains a mystery,) in which, both he and they were said to

be concerned. But Tweeddale and his party not being able to carry the succession without them, they, after a little time, were brought in again, and then the Union went on.

Duke Hamilton was at the head of that which was called the Country Party; but a select number of this party separated themselves from the Duke, and were distinguished by the name of the *Squadrone Volante*, consisting of the Dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, the Marquis of Tweeddale, Earls of Rothes, Haddington, and Marchmont, and about thirty commoners. Suspecting that Duke Hamilton was averse from coming into the Hanover succession, (to which they wished well,) at any rate, and being desirous, at the same time, to procure the best terms for their own country from England, they agreed to act by themselves ordinarily, to join with Duke Hamilton's party when it suited their purpose, and answered their views, and at other times to join with the Court party, when the Duke's faction pushed things too far.

The English at length pursued the Union with great vigour, (among other reasons,) in order to prevent the inconveniencies that must have happened, had the Queen demised before the Scots had settled the succession. One thing fell out very happily, though it is hard to say how it was brought about. When a debate arose in the Parliament of Scotland whether the Queen or Parliament should name the Commissioners to treat for Scotland, Duke Hamilton, though at the head of those who neither liked the

Union nor the Protestant succession, without giving any reason for it, voted that the Queen should have the nomination, which put his friends in the utmost confusion, and did great service to the Court. Some said he took this step, upon encouragement given, that he himself should be one nominated by the Queen, which he much desired. But, if he acted upon that view, he was entirely disappointed.

When his friends complained of this proceeding, he told them he was for no Union at any rate, and therefore was for giving up the question at once, and letting her Majesty have the honour of naming the Commissioners herself, upon whom they were not likely to have agreed. But that, herein he did not aim so much at complimenting her Majesty, as at covering his design: adding, that since her Majesty had got the power into her hands, it was not to be doubted, but that she would choose such as would accept of whatever terms England pleased, let them be never so much to the prejudice and dishonour of Scotland, which the Scotchmen could not but resent, and so the union might perhaps be kept from taking place.*

* Lockhart says, "Nothing so much saved the Union from being totally demolished as the season of the year;" and he gives it as his opinion, that "had not the Parliament met and sate in the winter, and the weather proved rainy and tempestuous, it would have been impossible to have kept the country people from coming to a head from all parts of Scotland, and tearing in pieces all that promoted it." *Mem.* p. 218.

As to the addresses to the Scottish Parliament against the

Upon the conclusion of the whole, it was said by many, that the great men of Scotland were bought,* and that the English ministry were under a necessity of procuring an Union to save their heads, having advised, or at least suffered, such acts to pass in Scotland, as might have endangered their

Union, from the Commissioners of the Royal Burrows, the Commission of the General Assembly, the African Company, &c. See *ibid.* p. 237, &c.—C.

"The Parliament-Close, and the outer Parliament House, were crowded, every day, when the Parliament was met, with an infinite number of people, all exclaiming against the Union, and speaking very free language concerning the promoters of it.

"The Commissioner, (Duke of Queensbury,) as he passed along the street, was cursed and reviled to his face, and the Duke of Hamilton huzzaed, and conveyed every night with a great number of apprentices and younger sort of people, from the Parliament House to the Abbey, exhorting him to stand by the country, and assuring him of being supported." *Ibid.* p. 222. —Ed.

* "The Duke of Queensbury received 22,986*l.* 12*s.* 2*d. sterling* out of the equivalent, being the full of his equipage money and daily allowance as High Commissioner," according to Lockhart. He thus indignantly concludes, not gifted, certainly, with a correct *second sight*, as to the eventual influence of the Union on the prosperity of North Britain :—

"It is abundantly disgraceful to be a contributor to the misery and ruin of one's native country ; but for persons of quality and distinction to sell, and even at so mean a price, themselves and their posterity, is so scandalous and infamous, that such persons must be contemptible in the sight of those who bought them, and their memories odious to all future generations." *Memoirs*, pp. 419, 420.—Ed.

own country, had not this expedient been pitched on, and had success.*

The Duke of Marlborough obtained a considerable victory, May 23, this year, (1706,) at Ramillies, in Brabant. This was soon followed by a recognition of King Charles III. as their sovereign, by the States of Brabant and Flanders, assembled at Brussels and Ghent, and with the restoring of the greater part of the Spanish Netherlands to the possession of the house of Austria. Whereupon, June 27, was appointed a day of public thanksgiving. The Queen went to St. Paul's with great pomp, on that day, as in former years. The sermon was preached by

* The writer of the "Life of Charles Earl of Halifax," (p. 137,) says, "This Union was brought about, with great difficulty, and not without many useful expedients, and was wholly owing to that lord, who projected the *Equivalent*, without which it had never been accomplished."—C.

This lord wrote, though with no apparent reference to the question of Union, "The Anatomy of an Equivalent." See "Miscellanies, by the late Marquess of Halifax," (1700,) pp. 1—42.

"Since Scotland," says Burnet, "was to pay customs and excise on the same foot with England, and to bear a share in paying much of the debt England had contracted during the war, 398,000*l.* was to be raised in England, and sent into Scotland as an *equivalent*.

"That was to be applied to recoining the money, and paying the public debts of Scotland, and repaying to their African Company (which was to be dissolved) all their losses with interest; and the overplus to the encouragement of manufactures." See "Own Time," ii. 458.—Ed.

Dr. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, from *Deut.* xxxiii. 29.

Upon this, there came congratulatory addresses from all parts; one from the Dissenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster, was presented to her Majesty at Windsor, June 17, by Mr. Spademan, accompanied with twelve others.*

* It was in the words following:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"The late surprising progress of your Majesty's forces, and those of your allies in Flanders, under the command of the most illustrious Prince, the Duke of Marlborough, and of those in Spain commanded by the noble Earls of Peterborough and Galway, happily supported by your Royal Navy, under the conduct of your prudent and valiant admirals, engages us humbly to congratulate your Majesty on so glorious an occasion.

"The signal answer it has pleased God to return to those devout prayers, which your Majesty and your people, by your pious direction, addressed to Heaven, inspires us with a joy equal to the mortification it gives your enemies; and while your Majesty ascribes your many victories to the arm of the Almighty, and repeats your Royal commands to your people, to offer him solemn thanksgiving, we cannot but look on your Majesty's piety as an hopeful pledge of the like future successes.

"As the important consequences of your Majesty's triumphs, make a daily accession to your glory, so they give us an agreeable prospect of the speedy reduction of the power of France to its just limits, the restitution of liberty and peace to Europe, the effectual relief of the Reformed Churches abroad, and the security of that provision the law has made for a Protestant succession to the Crown of this kingdom.

"We gratefully acknowledge the share we have in the bless-

When this address was agreed upon, in a pretty full meeting of the Dissenting Ministers of the three denominations, and Mr. Spademan desired to present it, with the brethren nominated to accompany him, there was a warm debate whether Lord Sunderland, or Mr. Secretary Harley should be desired to introduce us. A majority being for the former, it was,

ings of your Majesty's auspicious reign, which preserves to us both our civil and religious liberties, and take this occasion to renew to your Majesty the assurance of our inviolable fidelity, to which not only our interest and inclination, but the sacred ties of gratitude and conscience oblige us; and we shall use our utmost endeavours in our several stations, to promote that union and moderation among your Protestant subjects, so often recommended by your Majesty, as highly necessary to the common safety.

"May the Divine Providence that has made your Majesty not only Head of the Protestant interest, but the Chief in the Confederacy for the glorious cause of common liberty, give your Majesty the satisfaction of seeing both more firmly established than ever, by the influence of your councils, and success of your arms. May your Majesty's exemplary piety, zeal for the reformation of manners, and parental care of all your people, even those of the remotest colonies, be eminently rewarded by the great God, with the constant prosperity of your Government. May your reign be honoured with an happy union of your two kingdoms of Great Britain. May your Royal Consort, the Prince, enjoy a confirmed health.

"May your Majesty continue to rule in the hearts of your people; and be late advanced to a throne of glory in the kingdom of Heaven. So pray your Majesty's most loyal and most obedient subjects and servants."

by common consent, put upon me, to wait on his Lordship with them, and give notice to those deputed, of the time and place for waiting on the Queen.

I accordingly attended his Lordship early next morning. When I told him my errand, he, smiling upon me, asked why we did not make that motion to our friend Mr. Harley, who he was satisfied would be very ready to bring us into the Queen's presence upon such an occasion. I thereupon took the freedom to ask him, whether it was kind and generous to slight the sincere respect of those who had with some warmth given his Lordship the preference in that application.

He told me, he had heard of our debate, and knew what had passed, by which I found that, as much as we Dissenters were sometimes slighted, yet, at certain seasons, even Ministers of State might not, perhaps, think it below them to take cognizance and receive intelligence of what passed among us, which I thought I might make good use of. But, he said, if we would listen to him, it should not be either Mr. Harley or himself, but my Lord Treasurer that should introduce us. I frankly told his Lordship, it was more than I knew that any of our body had that freedom with my Lord Treasurer, as to ask his Lordship to do us that honour: and added, that I had nothing of that nature in my commission; and that in such a case as this, I was as much obliged to keep the instructions of those that deputed me, as

his Lordship, when he was one of the Lords Commissioners in Parliament, was, to the instructions given him by the House of Peers.

He told me he was very sensible of it, and, therefore, would himself make it his request to my Lord Treasurer to introduce us, and would send me a letter by one of his domestic servants, by which he would signify it as his advice to those deputed in the name of the rest, upon this occasion, to be introduced by him; and at the same time, would intimate his Lordship's readiness to be our introducer, which he thought would be every way best. I submitted to his Lordship's judgment, and told my brethren of it, who were well satisfied. I had his Lordship's letter by his servant on the Saturday morning, which signified the Lord Treasurer's readiness, and fixed Monday morning for us to be at Windsor with our address. I had work enough to give notice to the several persons deputed, who lived in several parts of the town, and to fix them with coaches, so that we might get to Windsor in time on the Monday.

When we came there, I sent my servant to Lord Sunderland's, to let his Lordship know we were come, and ready to receive his directions. Word was brought that his Lordship went out of town that morning; at which my companions (and particularly Mr. Spademan) were not a little disturbed. To make them easy, I went myself, and inquired of Lord Sunderland's gentleman, whether his Lordship had left no directions for me and my company. Upon which he

told me he had left orders, that if we called, we should wait on the Lord Treasurer in his name. Without going back, I went up to the Castle, and found the Lord Treasurer's lodgings. I told the sentinel, that stood at the entrance, that if he would help me to the speech of my Lord Treasurer's gentleman, I would give him something to drink her Majesty's health. He rang a bell, and a footman presently came up, of whom he inquired for the Lord Treasurer's gentleman; who soon appearing, I told him my business, and he went in and told my Lord, who sent for me in.

I acquainted his Lordship that I waited on him by the direction of Lord Sunderland, who had encouraged us to hope his Lordship would do us the honour to introduce us with our address to the Queen. He told me, that if I would bring my brethren up thither, he would readily go with us to her Majesty. I observed Mr. Harley was there with his Lordship; and he gave me a look upon the occasion, the language of which was very intelligible, considering what had passed. We soon came up thither together, and were standing in my Lord's ante-chamber, when Mr. Harley came out from him, and he passed through the midst of us. None that were present could help observing, what a look he gave us! We were soon brought to the Queen, and never were more graciously received. We not only all kissed her hand, but were nobly entertained at dinner at the Board of Green Cloth, a favour we had never had before.

Mr. Ollyffe, now published his "Third Defence of Ministerial Conformity:" for my sentiments about which, I refer to my Abridgment.* Now also was that intercourse by letter between Geneva and Oxford, as occasioned Mr. Spademan's *Stricturæ*, some time after.

This year, (1706) died Mr. George Hammond;† who was succeeded as lecturer at Salter's Hall, by Mr. Benjamin Robinson.‡

This year was published, "the Complete History of England," three vols., folio. In the third volume, my Abridgment (1st edition,) is frequently cited, and several unkind reflections made on the Nonconformists; to which I have made a return, as they came in my way, in marginal notes, in the second edition. Several remarks also on the said "Complete History," may be met with, in the "History of England, during the reigns of the Royal House of Stuart."

About this time I was applied to, by a certain gentleman of the long robe, with a question on a case of conscience, to which he earnestly desired I would give an answer in writing. The question or case proposed, was this:

"Whether a gentleman, whose moderation in the lebates between the Conformists and Nonconformists is well known, who has publicly declared himself in

* P. 697, 698.—C. See *supra*, p. 39.—Ed.

† See Vol. i. p.503.—Ed.

‡ See Vol. i. p. 397, *note*.—Ed.

his judgment on the side of the Nonconformists as to their capital plea of the necessity of a farther reformation, both as to worship and discipline, and has publicly communicated with them at the Lord's table, as well as with the Established Church, and has pleaded for such interchangeable communion with each party, as requisite to the supporting that little charity that there is yet left among us; whether such a gentleman may, with a safe conscience, for a while withdraw from all the worshipping assemblies of the Nonconformists, in hope and prospect of a considerable public post, in which he may (probably) be capable of doing much service to the public, and particularly of serving the cause of charity, by his interest and influence."

To the question proposed, I made the following return, (Jan. 28, 1706.)

"The solution of this case appears to me very plainly to depend, upon the fair weighing in an even balance, of the good which such a gentleman may be supposed capable of reaching by such a course, and the damage and mischief that may be likely from thence to accrue; together with a just comparison of the degree of likelihood and probability there may be, of the good on the one hand, and the mischief on the other.

"For there are two things that are most indubitably certain: viz., that neither is a great mischief to be hazarded, for the sake of a small benefit; nor is

a probable, much less a certain public damage to be incurred, for the sake of a private, or uncertain public advantage.

"Whosoever thwarts either of these principles, seems directly to run the hazard of dishonouring that God to whose service he ought to be entirely devoted; and of disturbing the peace of his own mind, upon reflection.*

"In short then, though I cannot say but it might be a possible thing for a man to take the course here proposed, and not be justly chargeable with doing evil that good might come; yet, as circumstances at present stand with us, I cannot forbear apprehending that he would do more harm than good. And it is my settled judgment, that such a gentleman would better maintain his own reputation, and more effectually secure his general usefulness; and particularly be more capable of serving the cause of charity among us, by a continued open adherence to his professed principle, and public acting according to it, than by a politic compliance with such as lay nothing less to heart than religion.

"I humbly conceive that all men that have any sense of honour, will more value so steady a gentleman, than one whom they can be able to influence to serve a turn; and that such a gentleman, if he upon all occasions publicly owns the charitable bottom he goes upon, will be likely to have more peace

* I omit, here, a considerable enlargement, which could scarcely now appear interesting.—Ed.

in his own spirit in his last hours, than if by a seeming to fall in with the schemes of politicians, (though upon views quite different from theirs) he involves himself in difficulties, by which it is so easy to be ensnared, and so hard a thing to avoid it."

This year came out the Rights of the Christian Church,* which made a great noise, and had many answers returned to it.†

By the Acts of the two Parliaments in England and Scotland, preceding the Union, and the Act of Union with which they were embodied, the two Churches of England and Scotland were in appearance, and, as far as words would go,‡ fixed unalter-

* "Asserted against the Romish, and all other priests, who claim an independent power over it. With a preface concerning the government of the Church of England as by law established." 4th Ed. 1709.

This volume, written by Dr. Tindal, was largely described and much commended by Le Clerc, in *Bibl. Chois.* (x.) To an insinuation, encouraged by the Convocation, that such commendation had been purchased, Le Clerc indignantly replies:

"Il n'y jamais rien eu de plus faux, et je puis protester, en honnête homme, et devant Dieu, que je n'ai jamais eu, pour parler de ce livre-là, ni d'aucun autre, de promesse, ni de recompense." *Ibid.* xxiii. 235, 236.—Ed.

† These produced from the Author, "A Defence against Mr. Wotton's Visitation Sermon;" and a 2d Part "occasioned by indictments against a bookseller and his servant, for selling one of the Books. With some tracts of Grotius and Hales of Eaton." 2d Ed. 1709. See "Monthly Repos." xvi. 223, 224. —Ed.

‡ Yet it appears that words did not go far enough to allay

ably in the state they were then in, at which some both in the north and south, were very uneasy.

the apprehensions now excited among the zealous adherents to the rival establishments.

"There was no provision made with relation to religion," according to "an express limitation that the Commissioners should not treat of those matters." Yet the "Presbyterians" were "possessed with a jealousy, that the consequence of this Union would be, the change of Church-government among them; and that they would be swallowed up by the Church of England." *Burnet*, ii. 459.

In England, the alarm appears to have been as easily excited among "Church and State," especially in the higher ranks.

In "a grand debate about the Treaty of Union, Jan. 15, 1706-7, the Queen being present, in a Committee of the whole House," Bishop Burnet in the chair:—

"The Bishop of Bath and Wells" said he was "altogether against the Union. As their Bench was always reckoned the dead weight of the House, so those sixteen peers admitted to sit therein, would more effectually make it so."

Yet his Lordship must have apprehended the weight of the sixteen in an opposite scale; for he recommends "debarring them of their vote, in any future debates relating to the Church, towards which they could no ways be supposed to be well affected." See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 168, 175.

Among the temporal peers, the Earl of Nottingham (of whom see "Diary of Burton," iii. 426, *n.*) was distinguished, as he describes himself, by a persevering opposition. He "excepted against the name of Great Britain—such an innovation in the monarchy, as totally subverted all the laws of England." His Lordship is then reported as having thus solemnly concluded, not unlike a learned Peer, on a late memorable occasion, when "Cassandra prophesied in vain," and, so far as prejudices and interests would permit, *longo post tempore venit libertas.*

"The Earl of Nottingham begged their Lordships' pardon

But it does not therefore follow, but that the time may come, when some alterations may be thought needful by the legislature, and even found by experience to be necessary; just as some settlements were made on the monasteries in this island, and fixed *jure inconcusso eternaliter*,* and yet the legislature found it necessary to frame laws against them, that so the nation might not live in perpetual bondage.

1707. The French and Spaniards got a great ad-

for having troubled them, almost to every article, urging there were such material objections occurring to his thoughts, as in conscience he thought himself obliged to lay before the House.

"As Sir John Maynard made this compliment to the late King, at the Revolution, that, having buried, on account of his great age, all his contemporaries in Westminster Hall, he was afraid, if his Majesty had not come at that very juncture of time, he might have likewise outlived the very laws themselves; so, if this Union did pass, he might with as much reason, and as justly affirm, he had outlived all the laws, and the very constitution of England." *Ibid.* pp. 169, 176.

"Lord North and Grey," supported by 19 against 55, proposed to declare that "nothing in the ratification of the Union shall be construed to extend to an approbation, or acknowledgment of the truth of the Presbyterian way of worship, or allowing the Church of Scotland to be, what it is styled, the true Protestant religion." *Ibid.* p. 178.

At last thirteen peers protested, "because the Constitution of this kingdom has been so very excellent, and therefore justly applauded by all our neighbours, for so many ages, that we cannot conceive it prudent now to change it." *Ibid.*—Ed.

* See Sir James Dalrymple's "Collections concerning the Scottish History," p. 401.—C.

vantage over the Confederates in Spain, in the battle of Almanza,* where, besides a victory, they had eight thousand prisoners of war, and eight hundred officers. But then to balance this, they were driven out of Italy.

The German forces did little or nothing on the Rhine, notwithstanding the Elector of Hanover was at their head. Nor was there any action in Flanders. The great design of the Allies was the siege of Toulon, by an army under the command of the Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene, backed with the confederate fleet, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel; but that enterprise miscarried. It unhappily fell out, that Admiral Shovel was cast away as he was returning home, with three of his best ships.†

May 1. Public and general thanksgiving for the Union, which commenced on that day. There was a procession to St. Paul's, where the sermon was preached by the Bishop of Oxford, from *Psalm* cxxxiii. 1.

Addresses were pretty generally presented to her Majesty from all parts, and among the rest, one

* April 25. The Duke of Berwick commanded. *Chron. Hist.* i. 348.—Ed.

† Oct. 22d, "dashed to pieces upon the rocks called the Bishop and his Clerks, and all the men lost." The bad taste of the Admiral's monument in Westminster Abbey, has been justly exposed by Addison, in Spectator, No. 26.—Ed.

from the Dissenting ministers of the three denominations, in and about London and Westminster.*

This address was presented, May 7, by Mr. Flem-

* In the words following: —

"May it please your Majesty;

"Amongst the rest of your dutiful and loyal subjects, we beg leave, with all humility, to congratulate your Majesty upon the accession every year makes to the glories of your auspicious reign; and more especially, upon the happy union of your two kingdoms of England and Scotland.

"We adore the Divine Providence which hath removed the difficulties that were insuperable to your greatest predecessors, even under the advantages of peace, and reserved to your Majesty the honour of making us one flourishing people, through your wise and steady councils, together with the unparalleled judgment, application, and fidelity of your Majesty's Commissioners, and your two Parliaments.

"By this entire union of the two nations, we with joy behold the peace and quiet of your Majesty's government firmly settled; the Protestant succession to the imperial crown of Great Britain and the Reformed interest in general secured; the strength and honour of the whole Island much advanced; and our common safety, both against attempts from abroad, and breaches upon our happy civil Constitution at home, effectually provided for.

"Herein we have a repeated instance of your Majesty's parental care of your people, and cannot but hope that so illustrious an example will inspire all your Protestant subjects with that generous love and charity, that it may never more be in the inclination of any of them to molest one another upon religious accounts.

"May the great God so prosper your arms, and those of your allies, that your Majesty may be the glorious instrument of re-establishing the peace, and securing the liberty of Europe;

ming, minister of the Scotch Church in London,* introduced by the Earl of Sunderland, one of her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. They had all of them the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand.

August. The equivalent money, (398,085*l.* 10*s.*) was carried into Edinburgh in twelve waggons, guarded by a party of Scots Dragoons, and lodged in the Castle. The people, being set on by proper engines, showed their dissatisfaction, by rudely stoning the poor carters and drivers. Two or three were very much hurt as they came back from the Castle.

October 23, the Parliament met, and John Smith, Esq. (Speaker of the Commons in the last Parliament of England,) was chosen Speaker. The Queen, in her speech, November 6, discovered her-

and, at the same time, of restoring our Protestant brethren abroad to their ancient rights.

"May your Majesty and your illustrious consort, the Prince, be continued in health.

"May your sacred Majesty be blessed with a long and prosperous reign, over a people more reformed in their manners, and united in affection, (according to your Majesty's earnest recommendations,) and still reap the benefits of a government which, by the Divine blessing, you have made so considerable for safety and greatness.

"May all these our requests be as fully answered, as those we have offered to the Almighty for this Union.

"Then will our thanksgivings be lasting; and your Majesty will have the satisfaction of transmitting liberty and union to all succeeding ages."—C.

* See Vol. i. p. 441.—Ed.

self highly pleased with the Union, and signified her readiness to do all that lay in her power to secure to her subjects the happy consequences.

But there soon appeared a design to land French forces in Scotland, to the gratifying such as were discontented on account of the Union. John Kerr, of Kersland, Esq.* (who, according to his own account of himself, seems to have been a perfect original,) tells us he acquainted the Duke of Queensbury with it, who seemed surprised, and desired him to "go into the measures of the conspirators, in order to the discovering the particulars of the plot." And that he might do it with security, he adds, that the Duke obtained for him a privy seal.†

Kerr hereupon, as he lets us know, got an insight into a plot to surprise the castle of Edinburgh, while the *Equivalent* money was yet in it. The undertaker and twenty or thirty accomplices were to appear on the Castle-hill such a day, at noon (when usually full of company) with swords and private arms, and get as nigh the draw-bridge as they could,

* See his "Memoirs," Part I. p. 40, &c.—C.

† In these words :—"Anne R.—Whereas, we are fully sensible of the fidelity and loyalty of John Kerr, of Kersland, Esq. and of the services he hath performed to us and our government, we therefore grant him this our royal leave and licence to keep company and associate himself with such as are disaffected to us and our Government, in such way and manner as he shall judge most for our service.

"Given under our royal hand, at our Castle of Windsor, the 7th of July, 1707, and of our reign the sixth year."—C.

when this gentleman, (the undertaker) was to enter, and inquire for one in the castle. Soon as the gate was opened, (which used not to be refused to any gentleman) he was to pistol the sentinel. His men were to follow him and secure the bridge; and one hundred more, who were to be lodged on the Castle-hill, were, upon this signal, to make the best of their way, in order to secure all at once.

Kerr had this account from the very gentleman who had undertaken to be the agent in the exploit, who, at the same time, intimated he had surveyed the castle, and found it destitute both of soldiers and ammunition, there being but thirty-five effective men, some of whom he had debauched.

Kerr, having none then at hand to consult, told the gentleman that though the possession of the castle was of great consequence, yet to seize it at that time would ruin all, by alarming England, who would presently equip a fleet, and prevent the Pretender's coming; and that no damage would be suffered by deferring the design to a more proper time, since they might always have the same opportunity at hand.

The gentleman agreed. It was delayed: and Kerr took care to acquaint the Lord Treasurer and Duke of Queensbury, and begged that the kingdom and castle might be put in a better state of defence. Finding nothing done, he went to London, waited on the Lord Treasurer, at Windsor, and told him of the invasion intended from France. He ordered

him back to Scotland, telling him, he would take care to disappoint the enemies' designs.

Upon his return, Kerr was charged with having been at London, which was occasioned by a letter from a Scottish Jacobite there, to his friend in Edinburgh, in which he told him that he saw Kerr come out of a certain house in St. James's Square, the very day he wrote it. He was twitted with this by some of the Pretender's agents, at the Duchess of Gordon's. But this letter not coming to hand till next morning after his arrival, he made shift to get off.

In proof of his sincerity, however, they pressed him to persuade the Cameronians to make a public appearance against the Government, which they intimated would be of great moment to the Pretender's interest, and a mighty encouragement to the French King to send over the forces he designed. Therefore, he convened that part of the Cameronians, which followed Mr. M'Millan, a preacher at Sanguebar, and at the Market Cross made a public declaration against the Queen, as forfeiting her right to the Crown by imposing the Union; and disavowed her authority and government, declaring it unlawful to pay taxes, or obey her, or any that pretended to authority under her.

Lord Justice Clerk, then Prime Minister in Scotland, writ to Kerr, and made heavy complaints of his insolence: but Kerr told him in his answer, that it was necessary, in order to renew the confidence

which it was proper the Jacobites should have in the Cameronians, which he thought declining.

But, notwithstanding his frequent messages and sedulous application to the Court, to put the Scotch nation in a better state of defence, no care was taken as to the Castle of Edinburgh, or to prevent the threatened invasion. Thereupon, Kerr declares, with great freedom, that he could scarce forbear censuring the Treasurer and the whole ministry, as being in the plot. But of this more, under the next year.

This year (1707) "the practical Works of Mr. Richard Baxter," were collected into four volumes, folio. The Preface, with a short abstract of the Life of the Author, was of my drawing up. I there endeavoured to vindicate Mr. Baxter from a charge of downright falsehood in a matter of fact, which he was himself immediately concerned in, and therefore could not but know the representation to be untrue, if it really was so. I was very unwilling such a thing should pass down to posterity without being cleared up as far as might be.

The case was this, Mr. Baxter having built a chapel for divine worship in Oxendon-street near the Hay-market, and not being able to get liberty to preach in it, through the severity of the times, made an offer of it to Dr. Lloyd, then minister of St. Martin's, in which the chapel stood, (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph, &c.) that it might be used for the worship of God in the way of the Church of

England. It was accepted upon terms, and Mr. Baxter was well pleased that it was so.

Having taken notice of this in my Abridgment of this good man's Life,* and used his own words in his Narrative, the Compiler of the third volume of "the Complete History of England," who is often pleased to cite my Abridgment verbatim, quotes my very words,† and adds a reflection, in such terms as these: "This latter part of the relation, as to the offer of a chapel, is known to be very false."

It was a shocking thing to many, that one that had made the promoting of truth and holiness the great study and business of his life, and had written a number of theological books that were so very useful, should in such a manner be charged with falsehood in a matter of fact, in which he was himself immediately concerned.

Mr. Baxter had not only asserted in his Narrative,‡ that he was "encouraged by Dr. Tillotson" to make the offer of the chapel, and that it was "accepted to his great satisfaction;" but had hinted the same in several of his works published in his lifetime. He particularly declares in his "Breviate of the Life of his Wife,"§ that "Dr. Lloyd and the parishioners accepted of it for their public worship." The truth of this, never, as I could hear, was called in question, until the publication of this "Complete History."

* Pp. 347, 348.—Ed.
† P. 312.—C.
‡ Part iii. p. 179.—C.
§ P. 57.—C.

That work, in so open a manner contradicting Mr. Baxter's account, as "containing what was known to be very false," it was plain that, somewhere or another, there must be a great mistake. In order to the discovering where that lay, I, by a common friend, applied to the Author of "the Complete History," requesting some conversation with him about that matter. Upon our meeting, he told me he heard I was uneasy, and should be glad to know the grounds of it. I told him, that was a thing which he had no personal concern in, any otherwise than upon supposition of his being the Author of the third volume of "the Complete History of England," which was ascribed to him by common fame.

He answered that the proper Author of it he was not; but rather the Compiler, having put together the collections that others brought to him. Upon which I told him that then the reflections added seemed to be properly his; and he made no reply. I told him I should be thankful to know upon what grounds the passage referred to was charged upon Mr. Baxter as "a known falsehood." He said he was far from counting Mr. Baxter the greatest man of those that were silenced for their nonconformity, &c. I answered, that the question between him and me in this case was, not how great a man Mr. Baxter was, but rather, whether he had not reason to believe him to have been too good a man to be capable of telling a known falsity, in a matter that was

under his own management? And whether such an insinuation did not strike at the usefulness of his valuable works, which God had been pleased to own, and to do so much good in the world by? And whether in short it could be supported?

Upon which he offered to consult Dr. Lloyd himself, who was then still living, and Bishop of Worcester, and the best able of any man to set this matter in a true light, he being immediately concerned with Mr. Baxter in the affair. His Lordship was not only pleased to declare by word of mouth, but to give it under his hand, that Mr. Baxter being disturbed at his Meeting-house, in Oxendon-street, by the King's drums, which Mr. Secretary Coventry caused to beat under the windows, made an offer of letting it to the parish of St. Martin's, for a Tabernacle, at the rate of 40*l.* a year. His Lordship hearing it, said he liked it well. Thereupon, Mr. Baxter came to him, and upon his proposing the same thing, he acquainted the Vestry, and they took it upon those terms.

About this time we had a mighty noise among us concerning new prophets, risen up, that foretold strange and heavy judgments. They were for bringing in a new dispensation in religion, and had many admirers and followers. This fancy had been at work in France, in 1703, and many fell in with it. An attempt was made to relieve and recruit, assist and supply, those that were in this way of

thinking, when our English fleet went into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, in 1704.*

These people, in France, were called Camisars,† and strange and incredible stories were spread abroad concerning them. They were very fond of prophetical impulses,‡ and abounded among the new converts in the Cevennes, and about Nismes and Usez, and in all those parts. It was reported they were there guilty of great irregularities. They were vehemently opposed and run down,§ and at length suppressed by the Mareschals Montrevel and Villars.

Some of them, coming into England in 1706,

* See "Annals of Queen Anne's Reign," ii. 101, 102, &c.—C.

† See *Henault*, iii. 892.

"In that country language," says Col. Cavallier, "a shirt is called *camise*, and from thence Camisard took its name; when Montauban was besieged by Louis XIII. The Duke of Rohan sent eight hundred men out of the Cevennes to fortify that city. As they were to pass through some guards of the King's troops, they put their shirts over their clothes, thereby to know each other, and get into the city." See "Mem. of the Wars of the Cevennes," (1726) p. 158.—Ed.

‡ See "Fanaticism Revived; or, the Enthusiasms of the Camisars," 1707.—C.

§ Flechier, who died in 1710, "wept by the Catholics, and regretted by the Protestants," described (April 27, 1704) from his own observation, the horrid variations of this sanguinary contest, discovering an impartiality in his "good will to men" which would do honour to any communion.

"Quand les Catholiques sont les plus forts, les autres craig-

with great vigour and earnestness endeavoured to spread their notions here, where they were but too well entertained. Their common cry among us was, that this new prophetic dispensation was to be proclaimed in every nation under Heaven, beginning in England, and to be manifest over the whole earth within the short term of three years.

One that fell in with them, or rather was a leader of them, was Mr. Nicholas Facio, who had a brother at Geneva, who suffered for his attempts to give them disturbance there. This gentleman was one of considerable learning, and well known in the world. Bishop Burnet gave him a mighty character in his letters that gave an account of his travels. He says that "at twenty-two he was one of the greatest men of his age, and seemed to be born to carry learning some sizes beyond what it had yet attained."* But I must freely own, he does not seem to me to have been born to do religion any great service.

As has been before intimated,† I had some knowledge of him at Utrecht, where he was governor to two young gentlemen. I well remember he then generally passed for a Spinozist. Being weary of the old religion, he seemed desirous to find out and settle

nent d'être égorgez, quand les fanatiques sont en grand nombre près d'ici, les Catholiques craignent à leur tour. Il faut que je console et que je rassûre, tantôt les uns, tantôt les autres." See "Lettres de M. Flechier, Evêque de Nismes." *A Paris* (1711) p. 59.—Ed.

* Let. i. p. 15.—C.

† Vol. i. p. 189.—Ed.

a new one. The rest were very much under his conduct and management.

This gentleman was Chief Secretary to those that pretended to be inspired among us, and committed their warnings* to writing, many of which were published. But a mathematician's on a sudden turning an enthusiast, and to see one that discovered no great regard to the Revelations made by the real apostles of our Saviour, so zealous to promote the reception of those which these Camisars pretended to, had but an odd aspect, and was what many were unable to account for. It filled them with jealousy and suspicion, and fear of the consequence.

The ministers and elders of the French Church in the Savoy were sufficiently inclined of themselves, and loudly called on by others, to deal with some of these pretended prophets about their principles and practices, in order to prevent the mischief. They summoned three of them before their consistory, and after a great deal of trouble, freely censured them, giving their judgment, that the motions of these pretended prophets were only the effect of a voluntary habit, of which they had got the perfect mastery, though in their fits (some of which were very odd,) they feigned to be acted on by a superior cause, &c.

Three of the fraternity were also animadverted on by the civil government. Elias Marion was in-

* "Of the Eternal Spirit."—Ed.

dicted and convicted,* as pretending to be an inspired prophet, and printing and uttering many things as immediately dictated and revealed by the Holy Spirit. John Aude and Nicolas Facio were convicted of abetting and assisting him in printing and publishing his blasphemies; for which they were each of them fined fifty marks, and sentenced to be exposed on a scaffold at Charing Cross and the Royal Exchange, with a paper in their hats, signifying their crime, and they actually suffered accordingly.

Another that fell in with them was Sir Richard Bulkeley, a gentleman of learning,† who was very short and crooked, but fully expected, under this dispensation, to be made straight in a miraculous way, though he happened to die before the miracle was ever wrought upon him, to his no small mortification and disappointment. This gentleman, before he fell in with these people, was, by such as were well acquainted with him, reckoned niggardly and penurious; yet afterwards, he proved liberal and open-handed, and communicated freely of his wealth for the support of the new dispensation,

* Nov. 18, 1707. *Chron. Hist.* i. 351.—Ed.

† Whose "Defence" was answered by Hoadley in 1709, in "A Brief Vindication of the Ancient Prophets, from the imputations and misrepresentations of such as adhere to our present pretenders to Inspiration. In a Letter to Sir Richard Bulkeley, Bart." *Tracts*, (1715) pp. 225–300.—Ed.

under the direction of one that was a great friend to it, to the emptying a considerable number of his crowded bags.

Another of their zealous adherents was John Lacy, Esq. who had a considerable hand in my settlement at Westminster, where he was a member, being much respected and of good reputation, for any thing I had ever heard. His concern with these prophets brought me to a farther acquaintance with their principles; and I was at length, providentially, drawn into a public opposition to them, by which I hope I did some service.

This Mr. Lacy had a lawsuit depending, about the issue of which he was not a little concerned, and he would be often speaking of it when I was in his company. Often also would he discourse with me about these new prophets, and their agitations, of which I discovered my suspicions and dislike from the first. He conversed much with them, greatly admired them, thought there was something very extraordinary in their case,* and at last fell into like agitations. As in duty bound, I took all occasions of starting objections against this people, their design, tendency, and methods of management, and freely cautioned him to beware of the consequences; but there was no impressing him with any sense of dan-

* He published this year, (1707) "A Cry from the Desert; or testimonials of the miraculous things lately come to pass in the Cevennes, verified upon oath, and by other proofs." See Lemoine's "Treatise on Miracles," (1747) p. 246.—Ed.

ger. At length I heard he had a trial in Westminster Hall, before the Lord Chief Justice Holt, and had lost his cause. It was generally said, that things had but an ill aspect on his side in court, but I still remained very much a stranger to particulars.

In a little time, I received a note from Mrs. Lacy, desiring me to dine at their house, but to seem to come accidentally. She told me that Mr. Lacy having lost his cause, was extremely dispirited, and not to be prevailed with to eat or drink, or even speak, without great difficulty; nor had he any rest by night. I made a visit as desired, and found Mr. Lacy very low, though he seemed glad to see me. We talked about his losing his cause, which he owned greatly troubled him. I then told him that he must give me leave to be afraid that his cause was not so good as he apprehended and had represented it; for that my Lord Chief Justice, how much soever he inveighed against him, was one of such integrity, that I could not allow myself to imagine he would have appeared against him, had he discerned him to have right on his side.

He replied, with great warmth, that there never was a juster cause in the world, nor a more unrighteous judge. He would not allow of any supposition, that there was so much as the least mistake on his side. It would have been a vain thing for me to have entered upon an argument with him, when I did not know particulars; nor was he at that time able to bear it: I therefore forbore, and

when I left him was very apprehensive that the disappointment he had met with, and the vexation it occasioned, would cost him a fit of sickness, though little aware of what followed.

June 1, (1707) died Mr. Thomas Doolittle.* His sermon was preached by Mr. Daniel Williams; and he was succeeded in his congregation by Mr. Daniel Wilcox.

August 18, died the noble Duke of Devonshire, in the 67th year of his age. He was as eminent as any of the nobility for his zeal for the honour and safety of his country. His funeral sermon, which made some noise, was preached and printed by Dr. Kennet,† with memoirs, at the end, of the family of

* See Vol. i. pp. 105–109.—Ed.

† Afterwards Bishop of Peterborough. The preacher, said to be appointed "by the management of Bishop Burnet," referring to "a late repentance," added;

"This rarely happens, but in men of distinguished sense and judgment. Ordinary abilities may be altogether sunk by a long vicious course of life. The duller flame is easily extinguished. The meaner sinful wretches are commonly given up to a reprobate mind, and die as stupidly as they lived; while the nobler and brighter parts have an advantage of understanding the worth of their souls before they resign them.—Not that God is a respecter of persons, but the difference is in men; and the more intelligent nature is the more susceptible of the Divine grace."

The preacher was not very unfairly censured as having "built a bridge to heaven for men of wit and parts, but excluded the duller part of mankind from any chance of passing it."

This sermon, which, turning from "the mean, sinful wretches,"

Cavendish. Upon his tombstone he gives himself the character of "a faithful subject of good princes, and hater of tyrants, and hated by them."

Mr. Hoadly this year published his "Defence of Episcopal Ordination," to which, though I had drawn up a distinct reply, I yet forbore publishing it, for the reason mentioned in my Abridgment.* However, I there bestowed a few reflections upon it.

The sacramental test was this year (1707) imposed on the Dissenters in Ireland; no very proper return for their services to the Protestant and British interest. It was tacked in England to a Bill transmitted hither, for "preventing the further growth of Popery." The Irish House of Commons that framed this Bill, publicly declared their dislike of this added clause, "and their resolution to take the first opportunity of repealing it, though, at that time, they unwillingly passed it, rather than lose a Bill they were so fond of.†

had applied "the flattering unction" to souls of "nobler and brighter parts," could "not offend the succeeding Duke, to whom it was dedicated." He successfully "recommended the Doctor to the Queen, for the deanery of Peterborough." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* vii. 523, 524.—Ed.

* P. 715.—C.

"That I might not give him disturbance in the pursuit of his political contest, in which he was so happily engaged, and so much to the satisfaction of the true lovers of his country." Whichever prevailed in argument, Calamy seems here to have conquered in courtesy. See *supra*, p. 39, *note*.—Ed.

† See Abernethy's "Scarce and valuable Tracts," (1751) pp. 127–129.—Ed.

1708. Feb. 1, I preached a funeral sermon for my good friend, Mr. Matthew Sylvester, of Black-friars, who died suddenly, the Lord's day before, after service. Two passages, in particular, that I had from him, I cannot forget.

The first relates to the celebrated Dr. Robert Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, who is said, by Echard,* to have been "admired by all learned men as the most knowing casuist that the nation ever produced." It was from a living in his diocese that Mr. Sylvester was ejected in 1662; and he was a distant relation. This great man upon the passing of the "Act for Uniformity," sent for Mr. Sylvester, treated him with great civility, and earnestly pressed him not to quit his living. He entered into a free debate about the terms of conformity, and patiently heard him dilate on his difficulties; and lamented it, when he found that nothing he could offer afforded him satisfaction; and at last signified his concern that some things were carried so high in the ecclesiastical settlement, which he said should not have been, if he could have prevented it. But this afforded no relief.

The other memorable passage relates to a lady of pleasure about this town, who had broken through the restraints of a religious education, into a very profligate life, and as she found her end drew near, was in inexpressible horror of spirit, on reflecting upon her abominably vicious course. One in her company advised her to send for Mr. Sylvester, whom

* "Hist. of England," iii. p. 94.—C.

she had happened to meet with; and she commended him as an excellent good man, and one very fit to advise and assist her in her present distressed case. He was accordingly sent for, and prevailed with to make a visit, though it was with an aching trembling heart, it being but a very dark story that was told him of the person whom he was to advise and comfort.

Before his admission, he was pressed by several, with great earnestness, to speak comfortably to the poor distressed lady, without dropping any thing that might have a tendency to heighten her agony. When he came to her, she opened her case, with great freedom, and charged herself with abundance of guilt. She then asked, whether there was any room for such a wretch as she to hope for mercy? Upon which the standers-by begged him, for God's sake, to speak somewhat that might be comfortable to her.

Hereupon, he freely told her, that it was not in man's power, but was God's prerogative, to speak peace and comfort. But he would set before her, in a narrow compass, the foundation upon which God in his word afforded the greatest sinners ground of hope; which settlement of his it was not in man's power to alter. So he distinctly opened to her the terms of salvation, as they are laid down in the Gospel. She declared, that nothing of that nature afforded her any comfort, she having oft returned back to the same abominable acts of wickedness,

after very strong convictions, and most solemn vows, purposes, and resolutions of amendment.

In the midst of this discourse, there comes in a dignified clergyman of the Church of England, sent for by some present. Upon his appearance, one in the company cried out, "Madam, here comes your guardian angel; pray listen to him." The curtains at the bed's-foot were presently thrown open, and the clergyman, without any discourse foregoing, lifts up his hands, and in a solemn manner utters these words, "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, I absolve thee from all thy sins!"

How the poor gentlewoman was affected with this, I cannot particularly say, nor did Mr. Sylvester stay to hear. He was so amazed and astonished at this sort of conduct, in one that called himself a minister of the Gospel, towards so great and horrid a sinner as he was then dealing with, that he could not bear to stay any longer, but immediately retired, went home, and was not soon or easily recovered from his fright.

Putting circumstances together, I find reason to believe that the person who sent for Mr. Sylvester, on this occasion, was the very same that is mentioned by Bishop Burnet.* He says she was one of the King's mistresses, and "was the daughter of a clergyman, in whom her first education had so deep a root, that though she fell into many scandalous disorders, with very dismal adventures in them all,

* "Own Time," i. 263, 264.—C.

yet a principle of religion was so deep laid in her, that though it did not restrain her, yet it kept alive in her such a constant horror at sin, that she was never easy in an ill course; and died with a great sense of her former ill life." He afterwards* adds: (1681) "Mrs. Roberts, whom the King had kept for some time, sent for me when she was a-dying. I saw her often for some weeks; and among other things, I desired her to write a letter to the King, expressing the sense she had of her past life. And at her desire I drew up such a letter, as might be fit for her to write: but she never had strength enough to write. Upon that, I resolved to write a very plain letter to the King."†

* *Ibid.* p. 507.—C.

† "I set before him his past life, and the effects it had on the nation, with the judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a small part of the punishment that he might look for. I pressed him upon that, earnestly, to change the whole course of his life.

"Lord Arran told me, next day, he was sure the King had a long letter from me, for he held the candle to him, while he read it. He knew that it was my hand. The King read it over twice, and then threw it into the fire. Not long after, Lord Arran, took occasion to name me, and the King spoke of me with great sharpness." *Ibid.*

Charles had, probably, never been dealt with so freely and faithfully, since Robert Barclay, in 1675, addressing "to the King" his "Apology for the true Christian Divinity," in vindication of "the people called Quakers," admonished him in a style, quite *unique*, among Dedications, especially to Princes.

"Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity. Thou

Several times have I heard Mr. Sylvester tell this story, and I never remember his relating it, without a discernible revival of his horror at the matter of fact. But I think myself obliged to add withal, that I have good reason to believe that Dr. Burnet was not the clergyman that appeared, when this good man was conversing with the fore-mentioned miserable creature.

About the same time I also preached and printed two other funeral sermons. One was for Mrs. Frances Lewis, (eldest daughter of my good friend, the Lady Levet,) a young lady that died* of the small-pox. The other was for my wife's father, Mr. Michael Watts,† which I dedicated to all his family, at whose joint request I engaged in that uncommon service. It was readily owned by those that knew him thoroughly, that I rather fell short than exceeded in his character, which I thought but becoming.

A public thanksgiving for the many and great successes of the arms of her Majesty and those of her allies the last campaign, was celebrated with

knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne; and, being oppressed, thou hast reason to know, how hateful the oppressor is, both to God and man. If, after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation."—Ed.

* "Feb. 9, 1707-8."—Ed.

† Who died, "Feb. 3, 1707-8, *Ann. Ætat.* 72." See Vol. i. p 365-368.—Ed.

great solemnity. The Queen went to St. Paul's; and Dr. Manningham was the preacher.

But the Discontents remaining, upon the Union between England and Scotland, were an inducement to the French to entertain thoughts of invading us this year, in order to the overturning our whole Constitution. They might, perhaps, be farther encouraged in this undertaking, by a prospect of some such change in the Parliament and Ministry as afterwards happened. This invasion was talked of, a good while before it was brought to bear.

At length the Pretender came to Dunkirk, and the French King, having given notice of his design in all the Courts where he corresponded, took his formal leave of him, and expressed great hope of his success, and concluded with a wish that he might never see him again. Our Queen told her two Houses (March 11) that she had advice that morning from Ostend, that the French fleet was sailed from Dunkirk northward, with the Pretender on board: and that Sir George Byng, who was at that time out at sea with a good fleet, had notice of it the same day: and that he, being much superior to the enemy both in number and strength, she made no question, but that, by God's blessing, he would soon be able to give a good account of them.

Upon the rumour of this designed invasion, the Presbyterian ministers in the north of Ireland made an address to the Queen, in which they expressed themselves in such words as these: "We cannot in conscience neglect this opportunity of expressing

our deep regret that the gentlemen and people of our persuasion, are deprived of that capacity to serve your Majesty and their country, which they so successfully employed upon all former occasions, especially considering the present circumstances of this kingdom." The suggestion was very seasonable and proper, though not regarded.* And perhaps we are the only people under Heaven that would have been for keeping any number of persons pinioned, at a time when all hands that could be gotten and used were no more than were needful for the common safety.

Kerr of Kersland tells us, he "came to London just as the news came to Court that the Pretender embarked at Dunkirk,† and his jealousy of Lord Godolphin increased, finding he had taken no care to secure Scotland, which was naked and defenceless, there not being above 1500 regular troops in the whole nation, and all the castles and forts being unprovided." However, he waited on that Lord, who "commended his diligence, and seemed to hope the French would be kept from landing; but urged him to return back to Scotland, promising to take care to send forces, and all other necessaries speedily after him."

Kerr told his Lordship, he was afraid the landing of the French could not be prevented, for that their ships were so well cleaned, that they would outsail

* See "Tracts by Abernethy," (1751) p. 130.—Ed.

† "March 6, 1707–8." *Chron. Hist.* i. 352.—Ed.

ours, that were foul. But he pressed that preparation might be made to give them a warm reception when landed. His Lordship was by all means for his hastening for Scotland, and promised to send him directions, from time to time, as circumstances required.

Kerr was very desirous to know of his Lordship, what he would have him do for his own and his country's defence, as circumstances then stood. My Lord asked him "what it was that he proposed to do?" Kerr made answer, that "upon the Pretender's landing, he was for persuading the Cameronians to draw together and declare against him." My Lord told him, that "if he took arms against the Pretender, before the troops arrived from England, he would infallibly be cut to pieces; being in no condition to oppose such numerous forces as would come with him. Kerr replied that he thought it necessary to make head against him upon his landing, to keep some honest people from being ensnared to join, out of spite at the Union; and that if he got a body together, that published a suitable declaration, he did not doubt to be able to keep the mountains, in spite of all the French and Jacobites that should offer to disturb them, till such time as succours arrived.

My Lord bid him take his own way. But at the same time he told his Lordship, it was necessary to send down money to buy ammunition, and give arrears of pay that were due to the Cameronian Offi-

cers to encourage them; and then he did not doubt to do somewhat that is considerable. My Lord promised to send the money after him, but it never came to hand. However, he gave him generously enough for his own private occasions.

At parting, he told him it was his best way to correspond only with himself, who would be his friend, and do every thing for him that he desired. Kerr told the Treasurer how he might direct to him, and his Lordship ordered him a pass, and took his leave; and he got home just as the Pretender appeared upon the coast, and assembled the leading men of the Cameronians to Sanquebar, where they came to an agreement to declare against the Pretender, and all that joined him, as enemies.

Sir George Byng, with his squadron, pursued the French fleet, and came up with them on the coast of Scotland, but they fled to the North. He took the Salisbury, and some persons of distinction in it.* It was reported by many, that the Pretender was taken there among others, and afterwards let go by orders from above.† It must, I think, be owned to have had but an odd aspect, that he that had his fortune to make, should come so far with such an expense and force, and that after the French King had taken notice of his expedition, and raised such expectations, in all the several Courts where he had any ministers residing, he should not so much as set his

* "March 6, 1707–8." *Chron. Hist.* i. 352.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 4.—Ed.

foot on land. Lockhart of Carnwath, in his Memoirs, appears surprised at this as well he might. He says, "the French might have landed if they had pleased, or managed their affairs right; and that time must discover the true reason of their not landing." *

Some time after, the Count de Fourbin, who was Commander-in-chief in this expedition, publishing his Memoirs, tells us that he "was appointed by the King of France to convey the Pretender, and head the 6000 men that were to accompany him in it, but was uneasy under it; as thinking it was an exposing of such forces to no purpose. He met with difficulty in his preparations, and got nimble privateers instead of heavy pinks for the forces to sail in." Yet he still declares that he looked upon it as a chimerical enterprise, and a mere vision; but was told that "the loss of the 6000 men gave the French Court and Ministers no trouble, provided it gave satisfaction to the Chevalier." The Count had thirty privateers, and five men-of-war under his care, which he got ready with what speed he could; but the Chevalier no sooner arrived at Dunkirk, than he fell sick of the measles, and had a fever two days. When

* P. 350. He adds, "of which (by the by,) none of the Court of St. Germain's, though often wrote to on this subject, will give any return," which made it the more mysterious.

This looks as if somewhat had happened to the Pretender in his passage that was little thought of or expected, and not reckoned proper to be afterwards divulged, for fear of the consequences that might attend it.—C.

he recovered and the troops embarked, the wind was against them. The Chevalier and the Count de Gasse, (afterwards Mareschal de Matignon) were for sailing, though the Count de Fourbin declared it very improper and unseasonable. But, they insisting upon it, he complied, and their fleet lay at anchor in the middle of rocks, and in no small danger.

The wind at length turned fair, and on the third day after, they anchored before the Frith of Edinburgh, about three leagues from land. He says, that their making signals, kindling fires, and discharging cannon were in vain. Nobody came to them.

The British fleet, in which were thirty-eight men-of-war, (ten with three decks) soon came up. They saw it next morning, but four leagues from them, and immediately sailed away with all the haste they could. Being good sailors, and fresh careened, they outsailed us. It was proposed by several on board Count de Fourbin's ship, that the Chevalier should land at a castle on the sea-shore, belonging to a nobleman well affected to him; but the Count refused. A council of war being called the next day, it was determined to return to France, and they steered for Dunkirk; where, in spite of contrary winds, they arrived, after having been out three weeks.

Count de Fourbin adds, that when he was landed, he heard that Chevalier de Nangis was taken, at which he was surprised, because of the goodness of his ship. But he urges on his behalf, that he was

young, and wanted experience, and did not take the precaution necessary for his own safety, but prepared to fight, when he should have made all the sail he could away. He farther adds, that this commission of his cost him above four thousand livres.

Kerr tells us, that when the French fleet anchored in the Frith of Edinburgh, there were not four rounds in the Castle, nor did the whole garrison consist of forty effective men; nor any ammunition come till two days after from Berwick. So that had they landed, that castle, with the regalia, and the equivalent money, must in all probability have fallen into their hands. But the Pretender* and his fleet were frightened with Sir George Byng's appearance, and immediately fled. After mighty boasts

* Since the notes (vol. i. pp. 151, 193) passed through the press, I have been surprised to observe that such an inquirer as Dr. Birch, so late as 1751, could appear to sanction the once favourite popular delusion of a *pretended* Prince of Wales in 1688. Yet communicating some MSS. to the "Ladies Charlotte and Mary Capel, at Cashiobury," he thus writes:

"Aug. 24, 1751. The letters to the Princess of Orange are a real curiosity, especially those from her sister, the Princess of Denmark, which contain, in a few words, a stronger picture of the misgovernment of their father, than the most zealous friends of the Revolution have given us, and show her doubts with regard to the birth of the Pretender."

To which Lady Mary Capel replies—

"Cashiobury, Aug. 31, 1751.—Those letters to the Princess of Orange, I agree entirely with you, are great curiosities, and are strong proofs (had one any doubts) that the Pretender was never the Queen's son." *Ayscough* MSS. 4302–128.—Ed.

of the great things they would do, they returned as they came.

It was generally observed, that as it was not without difficulty they who were at that time in the ministry could obtain necessary orders for opposing the invasion beforehand, so not so much as one single person (though several were taken up for countenancing that invasion) did suffer upon the account of it. Nor could the ministry obtain that any one of those British subjects who were taken on board the Salisbury, should be made an example of public justice.

It was also observed, that at the time when the French were invading Scotland, there was a very great run upon the Bank of England, where the demand of money was so general and pressing, that had the news of Sir George Byng's chasing the enemy upon the Scottish coast come a little later, there would have been no small danger of its being shut up. But, after all, it was the opinion of some, that the French King in this proceeding valued not the Pretender farther than to make a tool of him, to perplex Great Britain and their affairs.

The magistrates of the City of Edinburgh, to show their gratitude to Sir George Byng, who was in this case the instrument of their deliverance, presented him with the freedom of their city in a golden box.

While the French were making their preparations, and all were forming conjectures as to the springs and grounds of the attack they designed, the Queen

had a good number of addresses presented to her. Among the rest, one from the Dissenting Ministers in and about London and Westminster, with Mr. Daniel Williams at the head of them.*

* In the following words:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"On the first advice of the intended invasion of this your kingdom, we thought ourselves obliged, after earnest prayers to God, humbly to address your Majesty, to signify our deep resentment of the attempt of the Pretender, whose usurped title can no more recommend him to the British nation, than his religion, and the power that supports him.

"Nor can we forbear to express the utmost abhorrence of the presumption of the French King, who takes upon him to impose princes of his own forming upon other nations, after having oppressed and enslaved his own.

"We are so entirely in the principles of the late happy Revolution, that we account the British Monarchy, and the blessing of your Majesty's reign, too valuable to omit any thing that lies in our power, for the support and defence of your Royal person and government.

"While the faithful adherence of our brethren of North Britain to your Majesty in this juncture, gives us a very particular satisfaction, we take leave to renew to your Majesty the assurance of our inviolable fidelity; and what we say on this occasion, is not only our own, but the unanimous sense of the people under our care, who all own your Majesty's rightful and lawful title to the Imperial crown of these realms; and would be thankful for a greater capacity to show that their zeal for your service is not inferior to that of the most approved and loyal of their fellow subjects.

"The late Union of England and Scotland, the wise and early precautions taken by your Majesty and your Council, to prevent the designs of the enemy; the prudent and vigorous

They were introduced by the Earl of Sunderland, and all had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand.

Nor should it be forgotten, that while we were under apprehensions of a French invasion in favour of the Pretender, General Stanhope made a motion in the House of Commons for leave to bring in a bill to dissolve the clans in Scotland. Being seconded by Sir David Dalrymple, the bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly; but afterwards dropped on account of the enemies' not landing there.

Last year, I left Mr. Lacy much dejected upon the loss of his lawsuit, though I was not able at that time to form any positive judgment what his concern might issue in. He soon proved delirious,

resolution of your Parliament; and, above all, your Majesty's pious dependence on the Divine aid and protection, seem very happy presages of success and victory, and make us hope that God hath reserved for your Majesty the honour of effectually securing the Protestant succession at home, of advancing the interest of the Reformed Churches abroad, and of completing the recovery of the liberties of Europe.

"That the great God would continue to guard your sacred person, to preserve the life of your royal consort, to bless your Majesty's counsels and arms, and those of your confederates, and that after a very long and glorious reign, your Majesty may exchange your temporal for an eternal crown, is the prayer of your most obedient and faithful subjects."

Her Majesty was pleased to return a most gracious answer in these words:

"I thank you for your Address, and the assurances you give me in it of your zeal for my person and government."—C.

was forced to be confined, and kept in the dark, &c. For awhile, his language was raving, and very sad; such as he never used before, though not uncommon with delirious persons. At length, on the use of proper means, he grew more calm, composed, and quiet, and got abroad again. He continued, however, continually conversing with the new prophets from day to day, and when he had done so for a good while, fancied himself inspired as well as they, and began to imitate their agitations and frantic motions. At last, as one of that tribe published "A Cry from the Desart," and Elias Marion his "Prophetical Advertisements," so also Mr. Lacy sent forth his "Warnings," declaring what mighty matters he expected.*

I continued to converse with him freely as before, arguing against his fancies as he could bear it. He would generally give me the hearing, and carry it respectfully, continuing to worship God as usual with us at Westminster. I heartily pitied his family, and on their account was not forward openly to break with him, not knowing but that, upon some critical emergency, the interest I had in him might be of benefit to his lady and children. But Mrs. Lacy one day very freely told me, that her mother and some others of her relations, were surprised and apt to reflect on me, that I did not more openly oppose him, and intimated that they thought I ought to do it; and that nothing could hinder me from it, but a

* See *supra*, p. 76 *note*.—Ed.

fear of disobliging and losing an auditor whom I was a gainer by.

I told her that I had often had that matter in my thoughts, and the only thing that hindered me, was an unwillingness to lose the interest I had in him, which might possibly be of service to the family. But since I found such an interpretation as that she mentioned put upon my proceeding, I should look upon it as a call of providence to oppose him openly. Accordingly, I soon after preached a course of sermons against the New Prophets and their scheme. Mr. Lacy heard many of them. I hope those discourses were of some use to others, though I could not find that he was at all impressed by any thing I offered.

It was not long after, that as I was dining one day at Mr. Lacy's, he, soon after the beginning of dinner, rose up on a sudden, caught hold of the table, as designing to keep himself from falling, walked up stairs, and shut the door after him. I was a little surprised, and asked Mrs. Lacy the meaning of this proceeding. She told me, he was going into his agitations. I asked whether, in such cases, she did not apprehend it proper he should have one to look after him, and prevent his falling? She told me, she did not find there was any occasion for it, nor did he like it. She farther told me, that he expected (she believed) that I should go up and see him in his agitations.

We continued discoursing on the matter till din-

ner was over. I asked Mrs. Lacy whether she could help me to a place where I could see him, and observe how he managed himself while he was thus alone, without being seen. She told me there was a convenient place, above, for that purpose; a closet between the fore and back chamber, with a glass door, where I might stand and see and make my remarks, without being discerned; and if I trod softly, I might also be unheard. Hereupon I offered to go, if she would bear me company, which she freely did.

I went as softly as I could to this glass door, and stood there a good while, and saw him seated upon an easy chair by the bed-side, with his back towards me, heaving to and fro; and heard a humming noise, but no sound that was at all distinct. I asked Mrs. Lacy, whether that was all I was like to see and hear. She told me she believed I could expect no more, continuing there; but she was satisfied he expected I would come in, to him, and then she doubted not but I should see and hear more.

Accordingly, I went into the room where he sate, and walked up to him, and asked how he did, and took him by the hand, and lifted it up, and it fell down flat upon his knees as it lay before. He took no notice of me, nor made me any answer; but I observed the humming noise grew louder by degrees, and the heaving in his breast increased, till it came up to his throat, as if it would have suffocated him. Then he, at last, proceeded to speak, or as he would

have it taken, the Spirit spake in him. The speech was syllabical, and there was a distinct heave and breathe between each syllable; but it required attention to distinguish the words. I shall here add it as far as my memory serves:—

"Thou—hast—been—my—faith-ful—ser-vant; —and—I—have—ho-nour-ed—thee.—But—I—do —not—take—it—well—that—thou—slight-est— and—op-pos-est—my—ser-vants—and—mes-sen-gers. If—thou—wilt—fall—in—with—these—my—ser-vants,—thou—shalt—do—great—things—in—this dis-pen-sa-tion;—and—I—will—use—thee—as—a —glo-ri-ous—in-stru-ment—to—my—praise,—and —I—will—take—care—of—thee—and—thine.— But—if—thou—go-est—on—to—op-pose—my— ser-vants,—thou—wilt—fall—un-der—my—se-vere —dis-plea-sure."

When the speech was over, the humming and heaving gradually abated. I again took him by the hand, and felt his pulse, which moved quick; but I could not perceive by his hands more than common heat. I again asked him how he did. After some time, he rose up, shook himself, and rubbed his eyes, like one just waked out of sleep. I asked him if he would not go down and end his dinner. When we were got down stairs again, I asked if he distinctly remembered what had passed, and he told me, No. While he was eating we talked of other things as they offered. He said he believed he should have another fit. But I told him I was fully

satisfied with what I had seen and heard, and so took my leave.

Some time after, without the least notice, he leaves his lady, and children, and lives among the prophets. He takes to himself, for a wife, one Betty Grey, who had been a snuffer of candles in the play-house, but now passed for a person inspired. This, in one of his inspirations that I saw, he calls, quitting Hagar, and betaking himself to Sarah, by order of the Spirit. By this creature he had several children.

In the beginning of this year (1708) I reduced the sum of what I had preached, in a good number of sermons, in my own congregation, into two discourses, which I delivered in my two turns, in the Tuesday Lecture at Salter's-hall, from *Jeremy* xiv. 4. I afterwards printed them with the title of "a Caveat against new Prophets," dedicated to Mr. Lacy. I took notice of the fore-mentioned speech under inspiration. Sir Richard Bulkeley published some remarks upon my Caveat; to which I soon returned an answer, in a single sheet. I had thanks from many, in city and country.

When a parcel of my Caveats was sent, one morning, from the booksellers, my neighbour, Justice Chamberlain, made me a visit, and seeing them lie in the window, took one, and was pleased to intimate that he was very glad I had fallen on that subject, and did, in effect, beg one, which I readily gave him. Some time after, he renewed his visit, thanked

me for what I had offered on the subject, and proposed I should bind one, and he would present it, as from me, to the Prince of Denmark, to whom he was one of the gentlemen of the Bed-chamber. This was altogether unexpected; yet I did not think proper to refuse. He also offered, if I would give him two more, that he would present them to the Archbishops. I complied in this, also.

Not long after, coming home one evening, I found a letter from the same gentleman, intimating, that they that once began at Court, did not know where they should make an end. He had presented my Caveat to the Prince, by whom it was taken very well, and the Queen, coming into his lodgings, and seeing it lie in the window, asked him how he came by it? He told her, it was a present from the author. Upon which she was pleased to say, she thought she might as well have expected such a present. Hereupon the Justice added, that he would by all means have me get one well bound, and transmit it to him, who would take care of its safe conveyance into her Majesty's hands: and that he thought it would be an inexcusable neglect if I did not do it.

I complied in this, also. Many days were not passed, before I was attended by Mr. Foster, page of the Back Stairs to the Queen, who had that morning received an express order from her Majesty to give me her thanks for my present, and the service I had done the public by appearing against the new prophets. By him I returned my humble

duty to her Majesty, with thanks for her gracious acceptance of my well-meant endeavours.

But that I might not be too much elevated with the honour done me, I soon was given to understand, that a great lady at Court took the freedom to inveigh against the Dissenters as mad; because my book was presented to her Majesty by Mrs. Hill,* (she was no more then,) which was taken for evidence that we were all in Mr. Harley's interest. Upon this, I laid before the lady the true state of the case, and gave an account upon whose motion it was that I had any thoughts of making the Queen a present, and to whom I left the presenting it, &c. This was reckoned collusion.

Whereupon, in order to remove dissatisfaction, if it could be done, I drew up a note to the Justice, and expostulated with him, about drawing me into a scrape, by making use of such a hand to present my sermons to the Queen; and put it, directed, into the hands of the lady, offering that she should send

* A cousin of the famous Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who had introduced her at Court, and by whom the Duchess was eventually supplanted in the favour of the Queen.

Mrs. Hill had been "privately married to Mr. Masham in 1707, in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings. The Queen was present," with whom she "was become an absolute favourite. I discovered," adds the Duchess, "Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at Court, by means of this woman." The Duchess afterwards calls Mrs. Masham "the machine in the hands of Harley." See "An Account of the conduct of the Dowager Duchess of Marlborough," (1742) pp. 220. 222. 315.—Ed.

110900

it by whom she pleased, and have the answer brought to her immediately, which she might afterwards, if she pleased, send to me. This was accepted. The answer returned was to this purpose, that if the lady I mentioned was employed to deliver my Caveat to the Queen, he should not reckon himself well used, any more than I did, as to myself: but he would inquire, and call on me in a few days, and give me an account. He did call in a little time; and did own that, upon inquiry, he found that, whereas he had given my Caveat to the Lady Fretchville, to present to her Majesty, she gave it to the lady that mine mentioned, from whose hands the Queen actually had it. As little a matter as this, led me to pity such as are engaged in a Court life, who are hardly able to know when they are safe.

Another thing happened on the publication of this Caveat. Mr. Jonathan Robinson, one of my booksellers, desired to present one, as from me, to Mr. Moult, the Chymist, who lived in his neighbourhood, was a great friend of the new prophets, and had mighty expectations from them. He told me, he believed he would read it, and take it well. I told him he might do it with my humble service. Some time after, he told me Mr. Moult seemed pleased, and promised to read it; and upon seeing him afterwards, signified his desire of meeting me one evening, over a glass of wine, in order to a little discourse. I readily named an evening, and left it to Mr. Moult to fix the place. Mr. Robinson moved

also that he and his brother Chiswell might be present at the conversation: to which I readily agreed, if Mr. Moult was free to it. At the time fixed, I called on Mr. Robinson, who told me that Mr. Chiswell could not stir out: but was very desirous to hear the conversation, and therefore moved that it might be in his dining-room, where he would give us a glass of better wine than we should ordinarily meet with. To this also Mr. Moult agreed, and we met accordingly.

He thanked me for my Sermons, and owned he met with some things in them that deserved consideration; but he thought the Christian world in general so degenerate, that there was great need of a new dispensation to rouse and awaken us. I told him that great and spreading as the degeneracy was, it yet was foretold in Scripture, and therefore need not shake our main principles, which were attended with an abundant evidence. I added, that if that which they called the New Dispensation, should at last appear to have any thing of collusion in it, which I found more and more reason to be afraid of, it would be so far from doing any service, that it would shake many as to their principles, and lead them to think the whole of religion a mere human contrivance.

He would not, by any means, allow there was the least reason to be apprehensive of collusion: but appeared so satisfied in the characters of the persons concerned, the goodness of their design, and the truth of the facts on which they laid their greatest

stress, that we need not desire any farther security. I, on the contrary, pleaded that we had not that evidence, in this case, that we might very allowably insist on; and urged their clashing in several things with those writers who were all along owned in the Church to be inspired, and the ludicrousness of some of their managements, and, particularly, their miracles.

At last, after a great deal of discourse, though without any unbecoming warmth on either side, I asked him, if he did not expect that Mr. Emms would rise again, at the time prefixed by some of the friends of their Dispensation;* and whether he did not reckon that Resurrection of his the great confirming evidence of the truth of their pretensions? He very frankly told me, he did.

Upon which I told him, that I would make him a fair motion before the company then present, that if Mr. Emms did rise again at the time prefixed, and

* That is, on May 25, this year, 1708. For the Prophetic Spirit had declared, he would attest the publication of our Lord's approach as a bridegroom, and return as a King, by raising Dr. Emms from the dead on that day, above five months after his interment: "which," (says Mr. Lacy) "if it be performed by the power of Him who is the Resurrection and the Life, none that believe Moses and the Prophets, will doubt that the fulfilling of the glorious things, written of him by them, is at the door, according to the tenour of this prophetic voice of late sounding." See "A Relation of the Dealings of God to his unworthy servant, John Lacy, since the time of his believing and professing himself inspired," p. 29.—C.

in the manner declared, I would promise to fall in with their dispensation, and become a hearty friend to it, provided he would promise, on the other hand, that if he did not rise again at the time prefixed, and in the manner specified, he would entirely quit the said Dispensation, and look upon the supporters and abettors of it as enthusiasts and deluders.

Upon this he demurred and hesitated. I told him I thought my motion liable to no objection. He said, he did not know how far the infidelity of the present age might provoke God to deny so public an appearance, in a way of punishment. I then only added, that if such a subterfuge and evasion was provided beforehand, I should not wonder at having it suggested afterwards by way of excuse; and, therefore, thought farther arguing or discourse was wholly needless. The other gentlemen present were of the same opinion.

When my Caveat, which was pretty much read, had been out some time, and the pretended prophets still went on, and gained converts, notwithstanding the expected resurrection of Mr. Emms (observed by some to be calculated at as proper a season as could possibly have been contrived for an insurrection, from so great a concourse of people, if the greatest enemies of the Government had had the fixing of it,) wholly failed them, and orders were sent to the Attorney-General to prosecute Sir Richard Bulkeley, and other ringleaders in this affair—I was, unexpectedly visited by old Mr. Cunningham, for-

merly tutor to Earl Pawlet. Though I had been with him in company, yet I never had seen him at my house before. I presently concluded there was an end to be served, and therefore determined to be the more cautious. I did not go about to conceal my surprise, but told him it was such an unexpected honour he did me, in quitting the company of so many great persons as he daily conversed with, to come and take notice of so obscure a person as myself, that I could not but apprehend there was something considerable at the bottom.

He was not free to own his visit had any special design; he always had a respect for men of worth, of all characters and denominations, and it was to show me that he had so, that he came to pay his respects to me, and that was all; upon which we entered into a general conversation about news and affairs of the world, &c. Sometimes he would ask me some questions about the new prophets, and then would go off again to some other subject. But I did not find he fastened upon any thing.

At length I took the freedom to tell him, that if he should continue ever so long beating about the bush, yet, when he came at last to what he mainly had in his eye, I should without any difficulty be able to tell him, that was the very matter that brought him to me; therefore, he had better be frank and open with me, if he expected I should be so with him. Hereupon, he told me, that if he had any one thing more in his eye than another, it was to have a little

discourse with me about the French prophets, and their followers, some of whom he supposed I was informed were ordered to be prosecuted by the Government. I told him, I had heard of that; but before I came to freedom on the subject should be glad to know whether he was for discourse about it, purely to gratify his own curiosity, or at the request of any persons of rank and distinction. He told me that let it be either one or the other, he should be thankful I would use freedom. To which I replied, that if he would frankly acknowledge to me, that he herein acted under the direction of any persons of significance, and would give me his word of honour that he would make a faithful and true report of what I said, I would use all the freedom he could desire.

Upon which, he owned to me, that my Lord Godolphin and Mr. Harley (for he was at that time, I think, no more*) had desired him to inquire my thoughts about the intended prosecution of some of the supporters of the new prophets, and make them a report of what passed. I then could not forbear asking him, what the reason might be, why he, on this occasion, should be desired to apply to me rather than to others of my brethren. He replied, the obvious reason was, because by Mr. Lacy's means (one of my flock) I had an opportunity of knowing more concerning them than

* Created Earl of Oxford, 1711. His family name is preserved in his Lordship's truly noble *Harleian Collection*.—Ed.

most others; and he desired me to be frank and open.

I then bid him ask me what questions he pleased, and, depending on him as a man of honour to make a just report, I would be open with him. He asked me, what I thought was the best way for the Government to manage with respect to these prophets, who had so many followers, and for any thing that appeared, might be likely enough to have many more? I told him I had considered the matter fully, and was abundantly convinced, it was much the best way for the Government to sit still, let them alone, and not touch a hair of their heads, or give them the least disturbance. He seemed not a little surprised, though not displeased; and presently told me he expected a quite contrary answer; and thought I should be for using them with all the severity that the law would justify. I told him that expectation of his was purely owing to his want of knowledge of my principles and views.

He declared himself glad he found it so, and asked my pardon: and was very pressing to know my reasons; repeating his promise of making a faithful report. I told him, that as what I had freely represented was my settled judgment, so I had three reasons to give that I thought unanswerable.

First, There was no just ground for severity, in a case of this kind, nor could it answer any good end. Severity might sour men's spirits, but it would

never convince. It was none of the means of God's appointment in order to conviction, nor had it any aptness in the nature of the thing to promote it. I added, that if we looked back either to ancient or modern times, we should find that the use of rigour, instead of giving men light, had rather barred their minds to hinder light from entering, and filled them with prejudices against the persons that were fond of such methods.

My second reason I fetched from the temper of the people of England, who are inclined to be compassionate, especially where they see persons courageous and resolute in suffering for the sake of their principles. On which account I gave it, as my apprehension, that if the Government went on to prosecute these new prophets, and they bore it with patience and resolution, as it might be conjectured they would do, (from the carriage of those three of them that had already stood in the pillory,*) a number of the standers-by would be inclined to pity them, and ready to conclude that there was something solid at the bottom, to bear them out; and so the number of their adherents, abettors and supporters, might probably enough, rather be this way increased than diminished.

I fetched yet a third reason from the Dissenters, and the Act of Toleration; intimating, that though they as little relished the principles and notions of

* See *supra*, p. 75.—Ed.

these new prophets, as they that were of the Established Church, yet they might be apt to think their own toleration endangered, by severe methods taken with these persons. If they found them used with severity now, for not being in the right, (and no other reason could be given but that, why they should be rigorously dealt with, as long as the civil peace was not endangered,) they might be apt to be afraid the time might come, when they also might have those wholesome severities (under which they had so long smarted) again revived against them also, as not being in the right neither. This way, the Government might, perhaps, raise a clamour which they could not easily silence; and fill a considerable number of those with uneasiness, whom it was much more proper for them to keep quiet, they being as heartily engaged in the public interest, and as little disposed to give encouragement to these upstarts, as any men whatsoever.

He listened to my reasons with great attention; and told me he was as well pleased with them, as he was with my judgment in the case, which I supported by them, and I might depend upon it that he would make a true and faithful report. I met him, some time after, and he thanked me for my frankness, and declared he had performed his promise, and I might rest satisfied I should hear nothing more of any prosecution of these prophets. Being let alone, they by degrees dwindled away, and came to nothing.

One thing more, relating to this matter, I could not help thinking very providential, of which I apprehend it not at all improper here to give an account. I happened to be, this summer, with my good friend the Lady Levet at the Bath. Sitting with her, one day, after dinner, my Lord Chief Justice Holt (who happened to be at the Bath at the same time,) sent his footman to my Lady to let her know that he would give her a visit if it was not unseasonable. She sent word, that she should be very glad of his Lordship's company. I was, hereupon, for retiring, having no acquaintance, but my Lady pressed me to stay, and urged this among other reasons, that perhaps I might have the satisfaction of a discourse with his Lordship about Mr. Lacy, and his affair.

His Lordship soon came, and he and my lady fell into discourse about common friends and acquaintance, and the affairs of the Bath, and any thing that offered. My Lady took occasion twice or thrice to speak to me, calling me by name, upon which I observed, my Lord looked upon me with some earnestness. At length, he asked me if I had not published something against the new prophets, and particularly against Mr. Lacy? I told him I had. He said he had seen it, and liked it well. He further asked, what opinion I had of Mr. Lacy, before he went among the prophets, as they were called? I told him, I took him for a very sober, honest gentleman, and that was the character he bore among all

acquainted with him; and I never heard any thing to the contrary.

He went on, and asked me, if I never heard of a cause in which he was concerned, that came before him in Westminster Hall? I told him that I had heard of it from Mr. Lacy himself,* who I found before it came to a hearing, was much concerned about the issue of it, as well as not a little cast down when, upon a hearing, he lost it; but I never knew the particulars. He asked me, what account he gave me of it? I told him he represented it as a very honest cause; and when, after his losing it, upon a hearing, I put it to the question, whether he was so much in the right, as he seemed before to apprehend himself to be, I found it was not well taken and could not be endured.

By this time my Lord was moved, and setting his hands to his sides, cried out, "an honest cause did he call it! I tell you, Sir, and you have free liberty to tell him, or any one else that you think fit, from me, that I say it was one of the foulest causes that ever I had the hearing of; and that none but an errant knave would have had that concern in it that Mr. Lacy had. For it was a plain design, in concert with a notorious jilt, to have cheated the right heir of a good estate, upon his supplying her with money. If one that could do this may be allowed to set up for a prophet, the world is come to

* See *supra*, p. 77.—Ed.

a fine pass." I repeat this as from my Lord Chief Justice, not having had opportunity of knowing the matter particularly myself.

After all, it was the happiness of Mr. Lacy's family, that his estate and income (which otherwise, in all probability, had been entirely consumed in supporting these prophets and their cause) was legally vested in trustees for the benefit of his wife and children. They paid Mr. Lacy 50*l.* every quarter for his own separate use and maintenance, without his being accountable to any one, how he spent it. With this allowance, and what ready money he had by him, he went into Lancashire, (a cheap country to live in,) and there cohabited with Betty Grey, and had children by her; having his head still full of inspiration, and discovering no concern for his wife and children whom he had deserted.

After some time, he was put into the Spiritual Court, for living in adultery, and Dr. Gastrel, the late Bishop of the Diocese of Chester, (in which he lived,) dealt with him about it. At last, the Bishop inquired, in a private way, whether Mrs. Lacy would receive her husband again, if he could be prevailed with to return to her, (though how far he was commissioned for it, I cannot say,) but she positively refusing a thing to which I never heard any one that knew the case, pretend to say she was obliged, he continued living in those parts, and became a thorough-paced Conformist, knelt at the altar, and per-

sisted in his prophetic notions,* and irregular life, till he died, 1730, without any public sign of repentance.

I have oft been thankful to God for the use he was pleased to make of me in this matter. I have sometimes been inclinable to apprehend, that it was worth my while to be born and come into the world, purely to be serviceable in this case, (in which the honour and credit of religion was so much concerned,) had I in the whole course of my life answered no other purpose that was so valuable. But I shall now return to public matters.

April 22, this year, (1708) a proclamation was published for dissolving the Parliament, and calling another. The writs were returnable July 8.

The Duke of Burgundy made the campaign in Flanders, with his brother the Duke of Berri; and the Duke of Vendôme commanded under them. They had a very numerous army, and their beginnings were prosperous and successful. But the campaign ended gloriously for the Confederates; and the Duke of Burgundy,† and his grandfather the French King, were sadly mortified.

July 18. A general thanksgiving for the success of our arms. Her Majesty went to St. Paul's, and Dr. Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph,‡ was the preacher.

* Whiston says: "1713. A conference was held, at my house, with Mr. Lacy, and several other modern prophets:" see "Mem. of Clarke," p. 52.—Ed.

† See "La Vie de Fenelon" annexed to "Examen de Conscience, pour un Roi," (1747) p. 172.—Ed.

‡ Very lately nominated (by the Queen especially) in the room

Oct. 28, died Prince George of Denmark, second son to Frederick III. and younger brother to Christian V. King of Denmark, which proved a greater loss to the nation than most people were at that time aware of. This prince was silent and quiet, and never appeared very vigorous or active; but was singularly useful in keeping the Queen steady, and improving his great interest in her Majesty's affection,* for the public good.

of Bishop Beveridge. He died, 1723, Bishop of Ely, aged sixty-seven. See Noble's "Biog. Hist." (1806) ii. 97–99.

Two publications of Dr. Fleetwood's have distinguished him. One was "An Essay upon Miracles," in dialogues, (2d Ed. 1702). The author pertinently asks, "if the Devil can work miracles as well as Jesus Christ; and men, assisted by the Devil, as well as Christ's disciples; what proof can miracles make that a doctrine is from God?"

Hoadly controverted the doctrine of the Essay, in "A Letter" to the author, disputing his "foundation" principle, "that none but God can work a true miracle." Locke, in "A Discourse of Miracles" left unfinished, thus refers to this controversy—

"These thoughts concerning miracles, were occasioned by my reading Mr. Fleetwood's Essay, and the Letter writ to him on that subject; the one defining a miracle to be an extraordinary operation, performable by God alone. And the other writing of miracles, without any definition of a miracle at all." *Works*, (1740) iii. 473. See Hoadly's *Tracts*, (1715) pp. 3–31.

The other publication was "*Chronicon Pretiosum:* or an account of the English money, the price of corn, and other commodities, for the last 600 years. 1707." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* v. 370. —Ed.

* "The Queen had been, during the whole course of her

Bishop Burnet, in the year 1683, says that "the marriage that was now made with the brother of Denmark, did not at all please the nation. For we knew that the proposition came from France; so it was apprehended that both Courts reckoned they were sure that he would change his religion." But then, he adds, and really his doing so was but a piece of justice, that "we have seen since that time, that our fears were ill-grounded." *

It is exceeding plain, from the ill influence the Queen fell under, some time after, by which she was brought to take such unhappy steps, that the Prince's life, during the continuance whereof the Queen remained so firm in those measures that were for her own honour, and the kingdom's safety, was an invaluable blessing; and his decease attended with such an entire change of measures, and so many unhappy consequences, a general loss.† He was buried at Westminster, November 13.

marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife. In all his illness, [asthma] which lasted some years, she sate up sometimes half the night, in the bed by him, with such care and concern, that she was looked on very deservedly, as a pattern in this respect." *Burnet*, ii. 515. See *Lansdown MSS.* 825–7.—Ed.

* "Own Time," i. pp. 562, 563.—C.

† Yet a nearer observer says, "He was so gained by the Tories, by the Act [for 100,000*l.* a year,] which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their interest. He was unhappily prevailed with, to take on him the post of High Admiral, of which he understood little.

"As great errors had been committed, so great misfortunes

Dec. 20, Mr. Matthew Clarke, with a number of his brethren, the Dissenting ministers of the several denominations, waited on her Majesty with an address of condolence; and were introduced by the Right Honourable the Earl of Sunderland.*

had followed. All these were imputed to the Prince's easiness, and to his favourites' ill management and bad designs. This drew a heavy load on the Prince, and made his death to be less lamented." *Burnet*, ii. 515, 516.—Ed.

* The Address was in these words—

"May it please your Majesty,

"As we cannot but be sensibly touched with whatever nearly concerns your sacred Majesty, we humbly ask leave to condole the loss of that illustrious Prince, whose conjugal fidelity and affection to your royal person, and steadiness to the Protestant interest, in times of the greatest danger, were so eminent and exemplary.

"These, together with his other personal virtues, did not fail to recommend him to the highest posts of honour and trust; while his stated communion was an evidence of the tenderness of his conscience in matters of religion.

"We thankfully adore the Divine Providence, that, to alleviate your Majesty's grief on this occasion, has blessed the Confederate arms with a continued train of successes both by sea and land.

"While all the world admires the conduct of those great generals, and the courage of those brave troops, that so often defeat unequal numbers of the enemy, we cannot but take notice how much your Majesty's piety, the moderation of your government, and your constant care to maintain the glorious cause of liberty, have been attended with the favourable protection of Heaven, and make your life and reign no less the desire and delight of your people, than they are the envy and terror of your enemies. "As

They were very graciously received, and all of them had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand.

Nov. 16. The Parliament met. The Queen appointed Commissioners to represent her person, on the account of her mourning.* The Commons made choice of Sir Richard Onslow for their Speaker.

"As we thankfully acknowledge the share we have in these public blessings, so we repeat to your Majesty the assurance of our constant fidelity and affection to your Majesty's person and government, which both we, and those under our care, have always made appear, as far as our respective capacities could extend.

"May the same success still attend your Majesty's councils and arms, till the liberties of Europe are entirely vindicated, the violated rights of Protestants in France and elsewhere perfectly restored, and the Protestant succession every way secured. May the deliberations of your Parliament be constantly under the Divine direction, the British Union be more and more confirmed, and whatsoever tends to endanger it, removed. May Almighty God support your Majesty under your present affliction, and after a prosperous reign on earth, may you be late advanced to a crown of immortal glory."

Her Majesty gave them an answer in the words following.

"I thank you for your address, and the assurances you give me of your zeal for my person and government, the Union, and the Protestant succession."—C.

* "The Queen was not only decently, but deeply affected," says *Burnet*, ii. 516.

According to the Duchess of Marlborough, "upon the death of the Prince," the Queen "chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for some weeks spent many hours in it every day." The Duchess "was amazed at this," supposing that "real grief" would have "made her avoid" such a place.

Relating the circumstance, several years after, when venting the rancour of a displaced favourite on her supplanters, she finds,

I this year (1708) published a sermon preached at the Merchants' Lecture in Salter's Hall, upon occasion of the many late bankrupts.

May 25, died Dr. Robert Frampton, the deprived Bishop of Gloucester,* and was interred privately at Standish in that county; and September 14, Mr. John Spademan.†

I cannot find a more proper place than the close of this chapter, to give an account of Jonathan Brown, the bargeman, (one well known in Westminster, and still remembered by many,) whose case had in it somewhat so much out of the way, that I have seldom met with any thing like it.

It was my usual custom on the Lord's day before every sacrament, to give notice of my intention to

instead of attachment to the Prince's memory, that "the true reason of her Majesty's choosing this closet was, that the back-stairs belonging to it, came from Mrs. Masham's lodgings." See "Account of the Conduct," pp. 264, 265; *supra*, p. 101.—Ed.

* Aged eighty-six. See "Lives of English Bishops," (1731) p. 269; *Athen. Oxon.* (Bliss) iv. 889.—Ed.

† Of whom see "the Compleat History of Europe," for this year, pp. 414, 415.—C.

Mr. Rosewell, in his funeral sermon, says, that after Mr. Spademan's education "in Magdalen College, Cambridge, he had a living in Lincolnshire, where he preached for some time." Afterwards, "he went over to Holland, as Minister of the English Church, Rotterdam," which was, no doubt, Presbyterian.

"He was an excellent critic in the Hebrew and Greek scriptures, and competently well acquainted with French, Dutch, Italian, and was making some progress in Spanish. He died about the age of threescore." *Ibid.*—Ed.

administer that ordinance, the Lord's day following: also to invite such as were desirous to discourse with me about coming to that ordinance, to be at my own house on the Thursday evening before.

At a certain time, (the year I cannot remember) having been out at noon, on that Thursday when, according to custom, I expected company in the evening, I came home about four o'clock, and found several waiting for me. Among the rest, there was a little old man, who, upon my entering the room, cried out with an audible voice, "Sir, here's Jonathan Brown, that can neither write nor read, that, according to your invitation on Sunday last, is come to see you, and hear what you have to say to him."

I looked about, and knew none of the others any more than I did him, and found he was the oldest person in the company, and thereupon told him that I no more invited him than others; but now he was come, if I could be of any use to him I should rejoice. "Nay, but, Master," said he, "how can you say you did not invite me? For when you spake, you looked me full in the face, which to me seemed all one as if you had said, 'Jonathan Brown, do you come.'" I told him that I did not know that there was any such person as Jonathan Brown, nor did I look at him, or invite him any more than others; but if I could do him any service, in the best respects, it would be a real pleasure, and I should be thankful to God and his providence for giving me the opportunity.

He told me he was in hope that I could, and would, do him the greatest service in the world, by directing and assisting him to steer right in his way to heaven, the thing he most earnestly desired. "O Sir," says he, "I am well known, and there are few, if any, that do know me, but what, if inquired of, will tell you that Jonathan Brown is as honest a man as any in the parish. But I find this won't do: I want something further, and I beg your advice. And that you may the better know how to suit your advice to my case, I have such a story to tell you of myself, as I dare say you never heard since you were born of your mother. But then, Sir," said he, "I must make this bargain with you, that you don't interrupt me, but let me go on, my own way, till I come to the end; for if you put me out, I shan't know how to go on where I left off, but must begin again."

I could not but take notice of the honest simplicity of the poor man, and the earnestness of his spirit, and observed several signs of a great concern; and therefore determined I would let him take his own way, and endeavour to make such remarks on what he said as might be a foundation whereon to bottom some advice, that, with the blessing of God, might do him good. The rest of the company in the room, waiting for me as well as he, observing his peculiar bluntness, could not forbear smiling. I therefore carried him into another room, and there

told him he might tell me his whole story, and I would not interrupt him. But I desired he would not dilate upon all the particulars of it, but give me the substance, in the narrowest compass he could. After which I told him I would ask him a few questions, and then give him the best advice I was able. In this he acquiesced.

He had no notion either of his father or mother, but was put out to nurse by he knew not whom, while very young. His nurse was kind to him, and put him, when six or seven years of age, to a barge-master that plied between Ware and London. While a child, he was employed in such little services as he was capable of; and, as he grew up, approving himself diligent and faithful, he was commended and trusted, and wanted not either for meat, drink or clothes. With this barge-master he continued until twenty-five years of age.

He told me that from his childhood he was just to every body, and wronged no one; hated lying, and spoke what was true, according to the best of his knowledge; and found something within him, often telling him, that such ill things as he heard and saw, from day to day, were to be avoided. His master had a kindness for him, and much favoured him, though his fellow-servants and others seemed to bear an ill will to him, because he would not speak and act as they did.

But, after all, he was uneasy; and thought he wanted something farther, though, through the igno-

rance in which he had been trained up, he could not well tell what that should be. He added, that in all this time he had not any notion of worship due to the great God, nor had been present at, or so much as heard of, any thing of that kind; nor so much as heard who or what Christ was, or observed the name of God mentioned by any that were about him, but in oaths and curses.

He had no knowledge of any difference between one day and another, or indeed between good and evil of any sort, but what he had from some inward stirrings in his own breast, which he could not account for. Upon mentioning this, I observed the tears ran down his cheeks. He said, that upon the whole, he grew so uneasy, that he could not be satisfied to continue with his master any longer, but resolved to run away, and shift for himself in the wide world. And whom should he go to, but his old nurse, who was yet living.

She blamed him for leaving his master, when he had no friend to betake himself to, for support, and would have persuaded him to return; but he told her, he could not live such a life any longer, and whatever became of him, he was fully resolved no more to return to it. The great question then was what he must do for a subsistence: as to which it was requisite he should be thoughtful, seeing the little money he had of his own would soon be gone. She at length advised him to go to London, and apply himself to a cousin that was a pipe-maker, who

lived (I think) in Wapping; upon which, at length, he determined.

Applying to this cousin, and telling him his case, he received him kindly, and told him he would assist him as far as he was able. One Lord's Day morning, while he was there, he was walking about the streets, to make his remarks, without knowing where to go, or having any thing to do. He had wandered as far as Temple Bar; and walking without the gate, he observed a number of people go in at a certain place, and them he followed, reckoning they were going to see some sight. When he came in, he saw a great many people in seats, and one in black mounted high above all the rest: at which he was surprised. He heard the man in black talking with great earnestness to the people present, and telling them they had souls as well as bodies, and there was another life after this; and all such as did not take care to serve and please God in this life, would be miserable in the other, and that for ever.

He told them also of one Jesus Christ, (of whom he had never heard any thing distinctly before) who was so exceeding kind as to come from Heaven to earth, to show us the way from earth to Heaven; and that it was only by his means that any could get the favour of God, so as to be happy in that other life. The poor man was so affected with these things that before he stirred, he took up a fixed resolution, that for time to come he would never live anywhere but where he might hear of this Jesus Christ,

that so he might become acquainted with him, in order to his being made happy, and having his soul saved, by his means.

Going home, he gave his cousin an account, with a great deal of joy, of what he had heard of Jesus Christ, and the resolution he had taken. He found his cousin had been acquainted with him long before, and that what he mentioned was no news at all to him. He thereupon blamed his cousin, that he had never said any thing to him of Christ. He told him, the only reason was, that he thought he had heard of him before as well as himself; and he told him now, that he might hear of him every Sunday: at which he was exceedingly pleased, hoping he might get to be acquainted with him in time.

At length the barge-master, concerned at the loss of his servant, after making great enquiry after him, found him out at his cousin's, the pipe-maker; and asked him, what made him run away from him. Jonathan told him, he had reason enough for it, as he would soon let him know. "But, master," said Jonathan, "can you charge me with doing you any wrong?" —"No," says the master, "thou never wrongedst me, Jonathan, as I ever knew, of the worth of a farthing, but hast been the most honest and faithful servant that I ever had."—"I am glad to hear that," said Jonathan, "though you must have greatly injured me to have said, I wronged you; for I am sure I brought away nothing but what was my own."

"Well, Jonathan," said the master, "thou must

come and live with me again, for I cannot do without thee."—"Have a care of that, master," said Jonathan; "I can assure you, I shan't be easily brought to that."—"Why, Jonathan," said the master, "if thou wantest more wage," (I herein use the very home-spun language of Jonathan himself, as he was discoursing with me) "I 'll freely give thee more wage; I 'll give thee what shall satisfy and content thee."—"No, master," said Jonathan; "no wage will tempt me."—"Well, Jonathan," said the master, "what dost think my barge may be worth?"—"I can't well tell, master," said Jonathan; "I don't know; but take her, hulk and tackle all together, she may be worth eighty pounds."—"Well," said the master; "if thou 'lt come and live with me, and be as faithful a servant to me as before, a quarter part of her shall be thine own."—"No, master," said Jonathan; "no offer you can make, will tempt me any more to be your servant."

The master was very desirous to know the reason; upon which Jonathan told him, that though he could not say that he wanted for any thing necessary as to his body, while he was in his service, yet that his soul, which was his better part, had been wholly neglected. He had bred him up like a mere brute, without knowing any thing of the worship of God, or hearing any thing of Jesus Christ, by whom alone he now understood he could be saved and made happy; and he had taken up a fixed resolution to live no where, for the time to come, but where

he might have an opportunity of getting acquainted with Jesus Christ, whom he declared he esteemed as his best friend.

The master endeavoured to divert Jonathan from such thoughts as these, which he did not at all relish, but could not move him. Finding him fully resolved, and having no way to oblige him to comply with his motion, he left him to take his own way.

When this shock was over, Jonathan, being sensible it was not fit he should live upon his cousin, without doing something to get his bread, offered to serve him as apprentice seven years, in order to learn his trade. He accepted of him, and Jonathan served him faithfully; and, according to his resolution, attended Divine worship every Lord's day, in order to hearing more of Jesus Christ. When his time was expired, not liking that business, he turned his thoughts to the water, upon which he had been bred up, and first laboured in lighters and barges as a servant to others.

Living thriftily and saving all he could, and Providence favouring him, he at length, in process of time, got first a smaller vessel of his own, and then a larger; till he came and settled at Westminster, where he had an established reputation as an honest man, and was worth money. From that time, he told me he was a constant hearer of my predecessor, Mr. Alsop, as he was also of me, upon my succeeding him, though I had never heard any thing of him till the time of his thus coming to me.

He was then turned of sixty. I began with asking him, whether he had reason to believe he was ever baptized? He answered, he was well assured of that by his old nurse, who told him that she was at his christening. I asked him, if he knew what his baptism bound and obliged him to? He answered, that he did not doubt but it obliged him to have lived better than he had done; but that he hoped a merciful God would forgive him all that was amiss. Going to enter upon particulars, about man's fall from God, his recovery by grace, the terms of forgiveness, and the nature of regeneration and sanctification, I found he was very much to seek. He told me he was not book-learned; and could neither write nor read, which he much lamented; but hoped God would make him a merciful allowance in consideration of his unhappy education.

I asked him, how it came about that, when he, for so many years before, had been so pleased with hearing of Jesus Christ, he should have taken no pains to get a distinct knowledge of him, in all this time? He told me, that he had attended upon God on Lord's days, duly, in public worship, and called upon him in private as he was able, and had endeavoured to learn to read, on purpose that he might be able to consult his Bible, and distinctly learn the way to heaven; but he found himself incapable. He added, that he had been forced to take abundance of pains to pick up a livelihood, and God had therein wonderfully succeeded and blessed him, and he was

ashamed he had not made better returns; but this he could say, that he most earnestly desired to be the Lord's, and there was nothing that he valued like his favour.

When I asked him why he did not apply to some minister in private for direction and advice, he told me he never had opportunity of acquaintance with any minister, though he had heard a great many preach and pray, which he hoped he was the better for. He added, that he was afraid of conversing with ministers alone, for fear they should despise him, when they observed his ignorance, and discourage him, instead of giving him assistance.

I asked him further, whether he never thought it his duty to remember Christ and his dying love at his table, which was a charge he had given all his followers, that hoped to reach Heaven and happiness by his means? He told me, he had been often thinking of it, (and more than ever before, upon his hearing me discourse often freely in the pulpit upon that duty,) but that he knew not how to imagine that such a poor, ignorant, despicable creature as he was, could ever be worthy of such an honour.

I blamed him, that though he had been an hearer of my predecessor, Mr. Alsop, for a great many years, he yet never would venture to go and talk with him alone; and asked him how it came about that he should after all come to me with so much frankness. He told me that he had been often thinking of visiting Mr. Alsop, but that fear kept him

back; and he had been discouraged by the sternness of his look. As for me, also, he sometimes thought that I overlooked him, when he was disposed to take notice of me with pleasure and great respect. But, he said, that on the Lord's day before he came to me, when I invited persons to my house out of the pulpit, he thought I looked very pleasantly upon him, as if desirous he should come; and thereupon he took up a resolution that nothing should prevent his coming.

Asking him, what he now desired of me, and expected from me? he told me, that like a faithful minister of Christ, I should direct him how to bottom his hopes rightly for heaven, that he might go upon such grounds, as not to be in danger of miscarrying. Asking him further, whether he would be willing to take pains to get what knowledge was necessary, and was disposed to receive and listen to instruction, he burst into tears, and told me he was ready and willing with all his soul, and should be extremely thankful both to God and me: which put me presently in mind of the man in the Gospel, that cried to our Saviour, "I believe; Lord, help mine unbelief." *Mark* ix. 24.

I could not help being much affected with this poor man's case, and told him that I was very willing to take pains with him, to help him by degrees to such knowledge as was necessary, without which the heart could not be good, nor his state safe. He told me, I should find him a very dull scholar, and

that he knew not how to express himself, nor indeed to take things in, like others that had better capacities; but he would pray to God to help him, and earnestly desired me to pray for him. I gave him a short explication of the principles of religion, and put him upon getting one to read it over to him again and again, and told him, that if he would come to me at such times as I mentioned, I would discourse things over particularly with him. As for expressing himself to me about the things of religion, he might take his own plain way, without cramping himself with words and phrases; and in my discoursing with him, I would endeavour to turn things several ways, that so he might take them in one way, if he did not in another. He went away much pleased, and very thankful; saying, again and again, he hoped God would reward me.

As I had opportunity, afterwards, I enquired this poor man's character, of some that lived in his neighbourhood, others that he dealt with in the way of business, and others that were acquainted with him. All gave him the character of a sincere honest man, ready to help any one he knew, that wanted help, as far as he was able, and that would not wrong a worm, which was the very expression that I remember many made use of concerning him.

He afterwards visited me frequently, and I discoursed him with great freedom about the main principles of religion, endeavouring to help him to right notions of the happiness of man while inno-

cent, the sinfulness and misery of the state into which he fell, the great work of redemption, the nature of the covenant, the evil of sin, and the excellency of holiness: the duties and blessings of vital Christianity, the evidence that supernatural revelation was attended with, and the purifying nature of Christian hopes. Afterwards, I endeavoured to give him an insight into the nature of the two sacraments, that I might help him to improve his baptism, and assist him in preparing for the Lord's Supper. This was a work of time and pains.

Poor Jonathan used abundance of application, and appeared very warmly concerned to get what knowledge was necessary upon those heads on which I discoursed with him. But he found it attended with abundance of difficulty. However, at length, he arrived at such a degree of knowledge, and what he did attain to was attended with such marks and evidences of sincerity, that I durst not deny admitting him to the Lord's table, notwithstanding that I found he could as well carry a mountain upon his shoulders, as learn to read at his age.

He was, afterwards, exceedingly pleased and satisfied, and often declared that he knew not how to express his thankfulness to God in the first place for his great mercy to him; and to me, in the next place, for the pains I had taken with him. His heart seemed wholly set on doing good.

In one of his visits, he brought a bag of money, and told me he was very sensible he had but a little

time before him to do good in; and desired me to take what I thought good out of the bag, and distribute to such objects of charity as I was acquainted with, the relieving whom might be for the glory of God; and signified to me, that I could not in any way give him a truer satisfaction and pleasure, than by directing him to any thing by which he might glorify that God to whom he was infinitely indebted.

His discourse in the whole of his conversation was very serious, and all his behaviour exemplary. No one frequented divine worship with more constancy, or a greater appearance of seriousness; and the Lord's Day was no sooner over, than he longed for the next. The whole of his behaviour was indeed very exemplary, and it continued so for the remainder of his life.

Missing him, one Lord's day, my heart misgave me that he was not well, and I determined to make enquiry after him; but was prevented by a message, early the next morning, that Jonathan Brown was very ill, and if I desired to see him alive, it was requisite I should be with him some time that day. I went in the morning, and found him in a very bad condition. He had the distemper called the *miserere*, and though he had good advice, yet nothing afforded him any relief.

There was a mixed company in the room, talking and chatting with great freedom. Stepping to the bed-side, I said, "Honest Jonathan, how is it with thee?"—"Ah, Sir," said he, "Jonathan is a-going."—

"Going," said I, "whither art thou going?"—"To my God, Sir," said he, "I hope."—"I hope so too," said I: "but then," I added, "I prythee let me know in a narrow compass, and in thy own way, the ground of this thy hope."—"Why, Sir," said he, "you know, as I have often told you, that I can neither write nor read; I wish I could: but I have heard from several ministers, whose faithfulness I have no reason to call in question, and from you in particular, who I am satisfied durst not impose on me, that if I gave myself heartily to the Lord Jesus Christ, God would be merciful, even to such a poor miserable sinner as I am, and own me for his: and that this was the sum of the whole Gospel. Now, Sir," says he, "if I ever did any thing heartily all the days of my life, I gave myself, my whole self to Christ at his table: and therefore I hope that God for his sake, will be gracious to me, pardon my sins, and take me to himself in heaven, whenever he calls me from hence." I endeavoured to strengthen, comfort, and encourage him; and afterwards recommended him to God in prayer. He died that evening, not only peaceably, but triumphantly. To God be the praise!

I have told the substance of this passage, at different times, to several persons, who have been not a little pleased with it, and made it their request to me to leave some account of it behind me, that it might not be lost, but remain for the edification of others, which motion I have promised to comply with, and

that promise I this way discharge; solemnly assuring any whom it may concern, that I have not at all exaggerated, but that the whole of this account is strictly true.

Another passage that I recollect, I could not help thinking remarkable. Sitting one day in my study, while I lived in Dorset-court, in Channel-row, my servant told me there was a woman below, very desirous to speak with me. She did not know her, but she seemed to be a person under some considerable trouble. Ordering her to come up, I, upon the first glance, could see trouble in her countenance, and desired her to sit down. She appeared to be in confusion, told me she was in great distress of Spirit, but hoped I would excuse her, and make her some allowance. I desired her to endeavour to recover her spirits, and not be too hasty in mentioning the particulars of her case; but to take a little time to think, and then to proceed; and if her case was such, that I could perceive I was capable of advising or assisting her, she would find I should not be backward.

She paused, for some time, and then began with telling me she neither was a Dissenter, nor ever intended to be one, though she, in her present perplexity, applied to me for advice. I told her I had not made any inquiry what she was or whence she came; and therefore she might very well have spared that suggestion; and added, that if she was a Papist, a Turk, or a Jew, while in distress, if I could

advise or assist her, I should do it readily. She said, she therefore thought it proper to mention that from the first, that I might not have a mistaken notion concerning her, or be led to think her ungrateful, supposing she found satisfaction and benefit by my advice (as she hoped she might) if I observed she did not afterwards worship God among the Dissenters. I told her, that was no concern of mine; she must judge for herself, and act as she was persuaded in her own mind.

However, finding in the midst of her trouble, to the cause of which I was yet an utter stranger, so great a zeal for the Church by law established, and the ministrations of it, as her discourse discovered, I asked her, how it came about she did not apply to one of the ministers of her own Church under her trouble, and what was the occasion of her coming to me for advice? But then I added, that I did not put this question with any design to excuse myself from giving her what advice I was able, for which I was ready when she had opened her case, but only because this was what appeared to me to have an aspect a little particular.

She told me, she was very sensible of it, and expected I should make that inquiry: but she had an answer ready, which she thought would be very satisfactory; that she thought she had most reason to expect her remedy from the same hand from whence her wound came. This, I confess, surprised me yet more, and I could not guess what it was she was aiming at. I asked her how I was capable of

wounding her, when I knew her not, nor knew that I had ever seen her before, or heard there was such a person in being.

She told me, thereupon, that it was a discourse she had heard from me, upon the Eighth Commandment, against stealing, that occasioned the great trouble of her mind; that had led her to think that I was the most proper person she could apply to for advice. I told her it was much that one so zealous for the Established Church as she appeared to be, could venture upon becoming an auditor of one of my character. To which she replied, that was purely providential. She was walking near my Meeting, and met with a shower of rain, and came in there for shelter. I happened to be at that time insisting on the necessity of restitution, where our neighbours had been injured, and showing how necessary our performance of that, as far as we were able, was to our having peace with God, or a true quiet of mind, had so disquieted her, who knew herself in that respect to have been grossly guilty, that from that time forward she could have no rest in her own spirit.

I told her where she had wronged any, and could not find out the persons, it was her best way to make restitution to God, the great proprietor, through the hands of the poor whom he had made his receivers: and that it was enough, and to all intents and purposes sufficient, that where she did not know the persons whom she had injured, she should take care that restitution was made them; but she might

make use of other hands for the conveyance of it; or send it in such a way as that they could not be able to discover from what quarter it came.

About a fortnight after, she came again, and brought me some money, which she desired I would give away to proper objects of charity, which she told me was part of what she had injuriously taken from others, though the persons were wholly unknown to her. The other part she would give away herself. She also brought me a few parcels of money, which she desired I would restore with my own hands to the parties she had injured, dropping what I thought proper upon the occasion. She left it to my discretion, either to make it known who the person was that had injured them or not, as I saw good.

Another remarkable occurrence was this. As I was going, one day from Westminster into the City, designing to dine with Sir Richard Levet, I landed at Trigg Stairs. Walking up, from the water-side towards Maiden Lane where he lived, I was overtaken by a woman who had seen me pass by, and ran very eagerly after me, till she was almost out of breath. She seemed greatly frightened, and caught hold of me, begging me, for God's sake, to go back with her. I asked her what the matter was, and what she had to say to me? She told me there was a man had just hanged himself in a cellar, and was cut down, and she ran up, and saw me go by, and was overjoyed at my coming so seasonably, and begged of

me, for the Lord's sake, that I would go back with her, and pity the poor man. I asked her what she expected from me, and whether she thought I could bring a dead man to life. She told me, the man was not dead, but was cut down alive, and come to himself; and that she hoped if at such a season as this he was seriously talked with, it might do him good.

Though I was an utter stranger to the woman, I was yet prevailed with by her earnestness and tears, which were observed by all that passed, to go back with her. She carried me up stairs into an handsome dining-room. I found a grave elderly woman sitting in one corner, a younger woman in another, a down-looking man, that had discontent in his countenance, and seemed to be between thirty and forty years of age, in a third corner, and a chair standing in the fourth, as if set for me; and upon that I placed myself.

After a short silence, I told the three persons, that I did not know either who I was come to, or what I was come for, but that a woman had followed me in the street, and by her earnestness and importunity brought me back, telling me a melancholy story of one that was attempting to dispatch himself, and was happily prevented: and that though a stranger to them, yet I could not but be affected with such an instance of the devil's power, to blind and impose upon poor mortals. I asked the man,

whether it was he that was so weary of life, as to go to throw it away while God was pleased to spare it, and cast himself headlong into perdition.

He told me that he was that unhappy man, that thought himself so wretched at present, that it could not be worse with him in another life than it was in this: and who therefore had attempted to put a period to his life. I told him I had nothing to do to pry into the particularities of his case; but out of an hearty good-will, would advise him to fix upon some friend with whom he could be entirely free, and open his case to him without any reserve, which might be for his advantage.

He told me, he was a constant hearer of Mr. Daniel Burgess. Upon which I advised him to be free with him, and open his case to him in all the particularities of it, hiding nothing from him, that he found any matter of concern or trouble. He told me, that he could be as free with me, as with him, or any one else, if I would give him the hearing; and he begged I would do it. Upon this, I promised to call there in the afternoon, and if I found he was free with me, I would give him the best advice I was able. According to my promise I called, and had some conversation with the man alone, and with him and his wife and her mother, all together.

The man's great uneasiness arose from family differences, which had risen pretty high. All sides insisted upon my hearing them, particularly. I did

so; and, according to the usual observation, found faults on both sides, though one side might be most faulty. I blamed both on one side and the other, what appeared amiss. They heard me with patience, and appeared much concerned for what was passed, and promised great caution for the future. I put up a prayer with them, and they were very thankful for the time and pains I spent upon them, and called upon me some time after, at my own house, and renewed their thanks; and seemed very much disposed to mind their duty, and study to promote each other's comfort to their utmost. When I inquired after them at some distance of time, intending them a visit, that I might see whether they fulfilled their repeated promises and engagements, they were gone, and no one could give me any account of them.

CHAPTER VII.

1709.

The Account of Public Matters continued.—Of my Journey into North Britain, reception there, and return from thence.

1709. Jan. 1. DR. WILLIAM LLOYD, the deprived Bishop of Norwich,* departed this life at

* While occupying a former see, this Bishop had exacted from "Thomas Ashenden, Rector of Dingley, Northampton-

Hammersmith. He was peculiarly valued by Archbishop Sancroft, who granted him a commission, as his eldest suffragan, to act in all matters purely spiritual, with full archiepiscopal power,* and he acted, by virtue of it, till his death; but so cautiously, as to give as little umbrage as might be to the bishops in the vacated sees.

The Parliament continued sitting. The Lords first went on the state of the kingdom at the time of the late invasion. Lord Haversham, (according to his custom,) made a very warm and eager speech.†

shire, a public recantation in the Cathedral of Peterborough, at the time of divine service," for having "published a new exposition of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Commandments." See the abject and humiliating confession imposed on this clergyman in "the Lives of English Bishops," (1731) p. 310.—Ed.

* This Commission may be met with in the "Life of Mr. John Kettlewell," p. 346.—C.

Bishop Lloyd maintained "that Kings have their power from God, and are accountable only to him for the exercise of it." For this, "upon Sancroft's death," he had been "recommended to King James, to have his nomination for Canterbury." *Burnet*, ii. 183.

"There have been men," says Major Cartwright, "even Englishmen, who have written books, in order to prove that persons, neither wiser nor better, but oftentimes more worthless and despicable than other men, have been elevated for their own sakes; and have had a divine right to be the guardians, the guides, and lawgivers of mankind. I am, myself, inclined to believe that the Deity is no such respecter of persons." See "The Legislative Rights of the Commonalty vindicated. By John Cartwright." 2d Ed. (1777) p. 7.—Ed.

† See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 247–260.—Ed.

It appeared that Scotland had been destitute of all means of defence, till a trifling supply was sent from Berwick. The ministry made no other excuse, but that the Pretender's attempt had been managed with so great privacy, that it could not be known, with certainty, beforehand. Lord Haversham, knowing that Kerr of Kersland had told the Lord Treasurer of the steps taken by the friends of the Pretender, a year before, sent for that gentleman to London, by a letter from Dr. Hutton, desiring him to bring his papers. But that letter happening to miscarry, and the Whig Lords finding other employment for Kerr* at home, he did not come up; and it not appearing that the Lord Treasurer and the Ministry had any previous advertisements of the proceedings of the enemies, they were acquitted.†

In this session, a bill passed for the general naturalization of foreign Protestants, at which some were greatly disturbed.‡ Complaint was made to the Commons of a printed pamphlet upon the Sacramental Test, which was voted "a scandalous and seditious libel," and ordered to be burnt. The

* See his "Memoirs," pp. 67, 68.—C.

† "All ended in a joint address of both Houses, that much and effectual care had been taken, by those employed by her Majesty, at the time of the intended invasion, to disappoint her Majesty's enemies, both at home and abroad." See "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 260.—Ed.

‡ See "Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Charles late Earl of Halifax," p. 149, &c.—C.

author was found to be old Mr. Humphrey,* who owning it, before the House, was dismissed without censure.†

February 17. A thanksgiving for the successes of the latter part of the foregoing year, was observed with solemnity. At the close of the session there came out an Act of Grace.

The French having been so unsuccessful last year, some proposals for peace were made at the Hague, by Monsieur de Rouille and the Marquis de Torcy, but were not delivered in writing. They were conferred upon, by the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, in conjunction with the deputies of the States, and they all concurred in declaring them unsatisfactory.

This year (1709) I took a journey into North Britain, and travelled upwards of twelve hundred miles. It was usual with me, in this part of my life, in the time of spring, to take a journey for health and diversion; and I had at this time been advised by physicians to take a long journey. I had been oft earnestly invited into North Britain by my good friend Mr. Carstaires,‡ and many others; and had promised to attempt it some time or other, and this time seemed as convenient as any. For the Union having been so lately compassed, a friendly correspondence between

* See vol. i. p. 371.—Ed.

† This pamphlet may be found in "Compleat History of Europe," for this year, (1709) p. 464, &c.—C.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 172, 173.—Ed.

the brethren there and us in South Britain, was thought very desirable. I was also willing to know the state of their universities, because my eldest son, bred at the Grammar School in Westminster, was in a little time to be sent to one place or other, in order to academical education. By seeing on the spot how the Scottish colleges were managed, I should be better able to judge, how fit it would be for him to have (a part at least, of) his education in one of them.

These were the motives to my journey northward; and that it might be the more agreeable, I carefully sought for suitable company. At length I fixed on Mr. John Baker, (a young preacher, since pastor to a congregation at Brentford, in the room of Mr. John Walker,) Mr. John Lavington, a student of divinity, since a settled minister in Exeter;* and my wife's nephew, Mr. Charles Morton, (a youth of great hopes) since deceased. Mr. Lowe, a Scottish minister, then in town, and about returning home, we took with us, which had several conveniences. We had also two servants.

Not knowing but there might be some fresh disturbance, in the North, in favour of the Pretender, I thought it highly proper to have a pass from the Secretary's office. I accordingly waited on Lord Sunderland, who readily gave me one, in which were the names of all our company. We were recommended to the favour and assistance of all magistrates,

* Where he will appear, *infra*, in the Trinitarian disputes.—Ed.

officers, and friends of the Government, for which we might have occasion in the course of our journey.

We set forward in April, on Monday morning, reached York, Friday evening, and continued there till Monday morning following. Dr. Coulton, the worthy pastor of a congregation there, treated us with abundant respect and civility. But the good Lady Hewley, a person eminent for her piety and charity,* was at that time so ill, that, notwithstanding she was very desirous of a visit from me, yet

* Drake, ("History and Antiquities of York,") mentions "a neat, but small hospital, founded by Lady Hewley, relict of Sir John Hewley, of Bell-hall, sometime member for this city. This lady died a Presbyterian, and the hospital was designed for ten old women of that persuasion." *Eboracum,* (1736) p. 274.

The "hospital, in St. Martin's Micklegate, was established by Dame Sarah Hewley, about 1709. It contains twenty rooms, inhabited by one married woman and her husband, (by whom prayers are read every morning and evening,) and nine widows, or unmarried women, required, on admission, to be fifty-six.

"Eighteen pounds per year is paid (thirty shillings monthly) to the husband, and the like to the nine single women. The qualification for admission is, that they repeat from memory the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and Mr. Bowles's Catechism." See "Reports of Commissioners for inquiring concerning Charities," xii. 672. Of Mr. Bowles, and his intrigues with Monk, in 1660, see "Diary of Burton," iii. 291, 292.

There is also "Lady Hewley's Charity," instituted, "1709, for teaching the children of the poor in any of the parishes of the Ainstey of York, or elsewhere in the county, in reading, writing, and working." Also an annual distribution of coals to "necessitous persons chosen by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen." *Reports,* xii. 674. xiii. 606.

she was not able to bear it, during the short time of my stay. At my return to Westminster, that generous lady was pleased to send me a noble mark of her bounty, on my part altogether unexpected.

At York, we saw the Cathedral, reckoned one of the most noble structures in Europe, and the Chapter-house (extremely fine and curious) also the County Gaol, lately built, and very commodious. We went down the river Ouse, to the Archbishop's palace at Bishop's Thorp, where we looked a little over his library, and found it a valuable collection.

Thence, towards Newcastle, a close and smoky place, remarkable for traffic, and the riches and plenty usually attending. We stayed here but one night, yet saw the Town-house, Exchange, and Custom-house. Next morning, we went forwards for Scotland. Mr. Bennet, minister of the chief congregation in that town,* bore us company. We passed through Mor-

Lady Hewley, also bequeathed a considerable estate to trustees of the Presbyterian denomination; the income to be annually applied to the support of ministers and places for Dissenting worship, in the northern counties.

A very active and efficient trustee of this bequest, during the larger part of a century, was Samuel Shore, Esq., who has just closed a life extended beyond ninety years, and devoted, to the latest period, by the wise and liberal occupation of an influential station and an ample fortune, to highly useful and honourable pursuits. See "Monthly Repos." N.S. iii. 68, 336; "Biographical Notices" annexed to "A Sermon delivered at Norton, on the 16th of November, 1828, by Henry Hunt Piper.".—Ed.

* As successor to Dr. Gilpin, 1699. Mr. Bennet died 1726, aged fifty-two. See "the History of the Hanover-square

peth and Alnwick, in our way to Berwick, and there had some free conversation with Mr. Horsley and Dr. Harle, the Dissenting ministers.

As we drew towards Berwick, we had an inclination stirring to go a little out of our road, and visit Holy Island, that formerly bore the name of Lindisfarne, the place where Aidan, Finan, and Colman, three Scottish Presbyters, (much noticed in ancient British history,) who came from the Isle of Hii,* (on the west of Scotland, and in ancient times famous for its monastery) to gain Christian converts, plant churches, and ordain ministers in Northumberland, lived and preached. The island is a desolate place, in which we could find nothing remarkable. We saw the ruins of an old church, but could meet with none that could give us the least intelligence of those Scottish worthies, or indeed of any other sort.

Therefore, we were for hastening to Berwick; but, going to take horse, we found what was main land, when we entered, covered with sea, which we

Congregation, Newcastle," by their present exemplary and justly respected minister. See "Monthly Repos." (1811) vi. 515–517.

The "work by which Mr. Bennet is best and most usefully known to practical Christians," is his "Christian Oratory." *Ibid.* p. 516. His acquaintance with modern English history appears in his "Memorial of the Reformation (chiefly in England) and of Britain's deliverances from Popery and Arbitrary Power, to the year M.DCCXIX. 2d Ed. 1721." See "Memoirs of Bennet," by Dr. Toulmin. *Ibid.* (1808) ii. 341, 453.—Ed.

* Iona. See Hawkins's "Johnson," pp. 475, 479.—Ed.

might have expected, had we consulted venerable Bede, who tells us,* that this place, "by the access and recess of the tide, is twice every day encompassed with the sea as an island, and as often joined to the main land, the shore being uncovered." We were forced to stay till the tide was out, employing ourselves in gathering up the things they call St. Cuthbert's beads, which are of no value.

The stop we made here, proved an inconvenience. Though we rode pretty hard afterwards, we could not reach Berwick until the gates were shut, and the bridge drawn up. Calling to the sentinel, he told us the keys were carried to the Deputy Governor, and there was no entrance until morning. Asking what course we must take to get a lodging that night, (being about eleven in company,) he answered we might be accommodated at the public house at the foot of the bridge. The master of the house told us he had not so much as a single bed to spare. We also found that if we were forced to take up there all night, our horses would be but poorly accommodated; but how to get better quarters was the difficulty.

Discoursing the landlord, I enquired whether he thought the sentinel might not be prevailed with to step to the Deputy Governor, and get the keys. He replied, that things of this nature were sometimes done, though not often; but that, if I was for trying,

* "Hist. Eccles. Gent. Angl." L. iii. c. 3.—C. *Biog. Brit.* i. 97.—Ed.

he would go along with me, and use his utmost interest. Going, therefore, again to the bridge, and calling to the sentinel, I told him we could have no good convenience either for ourselves or horses, at the place he had sent us to. The landlord confirmed it, telling him that his house was full. I begged him therefore to step to the Deputy Governor's, and desire the keys, and offered him half a crown to drink her Majesty's health, for his pains. I added, he might assure the gentlemen we were all hearty friends of the Government, that I was an acquaintance of Lord Sunderland's, and had his pass about me; and was satisfied my Lord would resent it, should entrance into the town be refused us, merely because we were so unhappy as to be benighted. The landlord added his entreaties, and put him in mind that something of the same nature had been done not long before.

Hereupon, the sentinel took down our names and places of abode, which I recited to him; and asking where we designed to lodge, I told him at the Post House. Upon this, he told us he would make a trial, and hoped he might prevail; and if I would go back to my present landlord's, I should hear from him in half an hour. About that time he came back, and told me he had got the keys, and the gates were open. We presently mounted our horses, passed the bridge, and entered the gates. I made good my promise to the sentinel, and rode on to the Post House. Our coming so late, and fetching the keys

from the Deputy Governor's, gave a sort of alarum to the town; so that all the way we passed along, the people were pretty generally got with lights to their windows and doors, to see who and what was coming.

No sooner were we got to the Post House, than the Deputy Governor came, asked for me by name, and, after salutations passed, enquired whether I was personally acquainted with Lord Sunderland. I told him I was, and had been so, several years, and produced my pass, which he frankly owned to be very full and respectful, and thereupon offered me and my company any service he was able to do us. I thanked him for the civility he had shown us, and told him we needed nothing farther. He called for wine, and drank the Queen's and my Lord's health, and had a little talk of news, and the Pretender, &c., and then left us to our repose. He earnestly invited me to take a dinner with him the next day; but I told him I was hastening to the General Assembly, then sitting at Edinburgh, and accepting his invitation would hinder me a whole day; and, thereupon, begged his excuse. He was at first very pressing, but at length dropped his importunity, and wished me a good journey.

Next day we went for Dunbar, where we had a sight of that neck of land, (not a mile and a half from sea to sea) in which Cromwell and his army were shut up, as in a pound, in 1650, when he was in so much

danger, and afterwards gained so great a victory over the Scottish army.* Leaving my company behind in bed, I, the next morning, (Saturday) with Mr. Lowe and my servant, rode to Edinburgh to get lodgings, before the rest arrived. We got there by ten o'clock, and were soon provided, and by three o'clock the rest arrived. We had presently a great number of visitors; ministers, gentlemen and citizens, vying with each other who should show us most civility.

Monday. I went into the Assemby, conducted by Mr. Carstaires; the Earl of Glasgow sitting as the Queen's Commissioner, and Mr. Currey of Haddington, Moderator. I was placed upon a bench at the foot of the throne, at the right hand of the Moderator, and had liberty to attend, from day to day, and hear all that passed, making my remarks and observations. To get the better insight into their affairs, I not only went into "the Committee of Overtures," and "the Committee of Bills," but had a meeting, (every evening, over a glass of wine,) which had in it one out of each of their Synods, who by kindly giving me an account of what had passed in their respective Synods, with regard to the several matters laid before their General Assembly, gave me a clear and distinct view of their proceedings. When I afterwards told Mr. Carstaires of this aim and practice, he, with his wonted frankness, cried out, "Verily to spy out our nakedness are you come; and had you spent ever so much time in contriving a way to discover all our defects

* See "Diary of Burton," i. pp. xvii, cxlvii.--Ed.

at once, you could not have fixed on one more effectual." That which I take to have been more remarkable, was, that not one in all the company was for the *Jure Divino* of the Presbyterian form of Church government, though they freely submitted to it. The selecting such a company for this purpose, was the project of Dr. Cumming, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the college of Edinburgh, since deceased.

The Commissioner kept a magnificent table, having an allowance from the crown, and a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and ministers were invited to it. I was twice invited, and found all things managed with considerable grandeur, and in the utmost order and decency.

I took particular notice of two things, brought before this Assembly. One, the case of the parish of Crawford John, in Clydsdale; the other, of a minister in the North, by the Synod of Aberdeen. In the former, the minister recommended by the Presbytery, though agreeable enough to many of the people, was one against whom the Earl of Selkirk, the chief heritor of the parish, had a particular distaste, on account of an affront received from him. Though he was to pay the fixed minister an yearly salary, yet he utterly refused to pay it to this person, with whom he resolved to have nothing to do.

When this matter was to come before the General Assembly, most of the graver ministers were apprehensive of the consequence, and some persuaded me to argue with the younger members, in order to the

convincing them of the need there was to act warily in such an affair. I did my endeavour the day before, and on the morning of the day, when the matter was to come under consideration, but to little purpose. I told them freely, that, as far as I could perceive, they were far from consulting the interest of their church, by running the hazard of disgusting their nobility, when it lay in their power to oblige them, without breaking in upon their usual ecclesiastical methods, in any thing material.

That which they seemed to agree in was a formed resolution to put it to the trial, whether their Presbyteries had in reality any power. They said, it was evident (whatever might be pretended) they had no power at all, if a nobleman was at liberty to control them at his pleasure. I told them, I thought they might easily strain that string until it cracked; but there was no moving them.

When the matter was before the Assembly, and an account had been given of past proceedings, it was declared, by an advocate, that pleaded for Lord Selkirk, that let but the Presbytery recall this minister, in whom he never could acquiesce, and send another, be he who he would, he should submit to him; all his family should attend him, and be catechized, and he would pay him the usual stipend. But the Assembly adhered to the Presbytery, and refused Lord Selkirk's motion. Whereupon, my Lord's advocate entered an appeal to the Lords in the Parliament of Great Britain, took instruments of his so

doing, and told the members they must thank themselves for the consequences. I heard more of this matter afterwards at Hamiltoun; but it was, at length, happily made up; and, without that, it might have set all their great men against their Church.

In the other case, the party, whose name, I think, was Lawson, was ordained in episcopal times, and was complained of, as deficient in knowledge, and unsound in his principles. Having some occasion to preach before the Presbytery in whose bounds he lived, exceptions were taken against several passages in his sermon, and it was agreed to refer the matter to the Synod of Aberdeen. Upon his appearing there, a committee was appointed to draw up a considerable number of questions on the most noted heads of divinity, to which he was to give a direct answer. His answers were to be taken in writing, and a judgment formed from thence, as to his fitness for the ministry. The majority of that Synod was against him; but he appealed to the General Assembly, where the exceptions were read, and also the questions, (above one hundred in number,) together with his answers. Some of these answers, it must be confessed, were but weak. Others were as proper, as would, I believe, have been returned, off hand, by many, whose sufficiency was no way called in question.

The Assembly seemed to be at a loss what to do with this man. The Moderator stooping down, and whispering me in the ear, as the questions were

read over, asked me what my apprehensions were. I frankly answered, that we in England should reckon this way of proceeding, the Inquisition revived; at which he could not help smiling. Lord Forbes, who sat on the bench above me, asked what passed between the Moderator and me, at which he smiled. I freely told him, and he immediately fell to laughing. The Lord President, who sat on the seat above him, inquiring what he laughed at, and he giving him an account, joined also in the laugh. At last, the Commissioner, who could not well help observing this, stooped down, and whispered the Lord President of the Session, and asked what was the occasion of all this laughing? Being told, he could not forbear joining. In short, it was whispered from one to another, till it went round the Assembly. I heard of it afterwards at Aberdeen.

This poor man's case being warmly debated, some were for his being wholly silenced; others for his being warmly reprimanded, and ordered to be more studious and cautious for the future. At length a Committee being chosen, of men of temper, (of whom the Lord President was one) they were desired to discourse freely with him in private, and make a report of their opinion to the Assembly. When they had done, they were against laying him wholly aside, and represented him as one that might be of use in the Church.

It was a common and general observation, that

the number of young men in this Assembly, was greater than had been ordinarily known. This made it the more difficult for persons of gravity and experience to know how to behave. Several of these younger men were extremely fond of speaking, and did it more frequently, and with greater warmth and vehemence than became them. I remember there was one in particular, that was several times publicly reproved by the Moderator, for speaking oftener than it came to his turn. Yet, upon every new matter, he had still somewhat to say; and I could not perceive in him the least disposition to blush, or even change his opinion, upon hearing the different sentiments of others. This was lamented by wiser men, who spake but seldom, and were called on to give their opinion, before they openly declared themselves.

The Moderator, at this time, behaved himself with great prudence, good temper and frankness. His conduct met with general approbation. Often when matters appeared intricate and embarrassed, I wondered how he, whose place it was to lead the rest, would get clear of the difficulties: and observed that, by turning things several ways, he at last brought them to the best issue the case would admit, and have sometimes been surprised.

No man in the Assembly was heard with more respect than Mr. Carstaires. He was, commonly, one of the last in speaking, and, for the most part, drew the rest into his opinion, when he thought fit

to declare himself with openness. Yet I once saw him a little put to it, meeting with what would have tried some other men, though he got easily through. It was, upon occasion of somewhat referred to the Assembly, by the Synod of East Lothian. In which case, it was moved that the members of that Synod should withdraw, as was, it seems, the usual way. Mr. Carstaires said, he thought there was no great occasion for that now. It would take more time than they well could spare; and the matter depending was of no great importance.

But a certain old gentleman stood up, and said they both must and should withdraw, according to custom, before the matter proceeded. Mr. Carstaires replied he was much mistaken if the thing depending was not of that nature, that it might be foreseen that the brethren would pretty generally concur in their sentiments, without dividing; which made him think the withdrawment of the members of the Synod of East Lothian not now so necessary: however, he offered freely to withdraw, with his brethren, if it was insisted on.

Upon which the old gentleman asked Mr. Carstaires for what reason his opinion might not be of as much weight as another's? "I, Sir," (said he,) "am as good a man as yourself, bating that you have a sprinkling of Court holy-water,* which I

* Mr. Carstaires was now the Queen's "Chaplain for Scotland," as he had been to King William and also his "confidential Secretary;" and, from "his favour with his master, con-

must own myself a stranger to, and never affected to meddle with. I tell you again, Sir, you shall withdraw, or we 'll go no farther." To which Mr. Carstaires with great meekness made this reply : " Dear brother, I can more easily forgive this peevish sally of yours, than you perhaps will be able to forgive yourself, when you come sedately to reflect upon it," and so withdrew. The matter was soon determined with a *Nemine Contradicente;* but this angry old gentleman, afterwards, could not rest, without asking Mr. Carstaires's pardon.

The close of the Assembly was, to me, peculiarly agreeable. Soon as all the business was gone through, Lord Glasgow, the High Commissioner, made an handsome speech, returning them thanks in her Majesty's name and in his own, for their unanimity and dispatch, the zeal they had on all occasions shown for the Government, and the many expressions of their respect for him ; at the same time, in a very obliging manner, taking particular notice of the Moderator, and his prudent conduct. Then he appointed another General Assembly to meet about that time twelvemonth.

Afterwards the Moderator, in the name of the whole Assembly, returned thanks to the Lord Commissioner for all the expressions of his kind regard ; and to all the members, for their harmony among themselves, concern for the public, and

sidered as a kind of Viceroy for Scotland." *Biog. Brit.* iii. 254. 257. 260.—Ed.

respect for him, who hoped they would overlook and forgive the unwilling failures and infirmities he had been chargeable with, in that difficult station to which they had chosen him. Then, without the least word, as to any inherent power of the Church to fix the time, (which had formerly occasioned such warm debates) he proposed the same day, as had been mentioned by the Commissioner, for the next General Assembly.

Then they, with one consent, sang the hundred and thirty-third psalm throughout. I must freely own, I never heard that psalm sung by any company with more life and vigour, or with more appearance of joy and warm devotion. Upon which they broke up and parted, full of the utmost content and satisfaction, blessing God, and applauding the Government. Carrying along with them to their several homes contented cheerful spirits, they diffused a general satisfaction through all parts of the country, which could not fail of having good effects.

While the assembly continued sitting, as I was one day walking with Principal Carstaires, in the High-street of Edinburgh, we met Mr. Stirling, principal of the College of Glasgow, who told me, I must fix a day when I would accept of a dish of meat from him, when he would have no company but such as I should nominate, as particularly agreeable to me to converse with. I thanked him for his great civility and respect; but told him, I thought he might very well reserve what he designed

till I made him a visit at Glasgow, as I fully intended before I left that country.

He replied, he should be glad to see me and my company at Glasgow, and expected it; and the best entertainment he could give us there, was at our service; that he did not make his present motion with any design of waving that; but, that we might have an opportunity of some free discourse at Edinburgh, with some that we could not see at Glasgow, &c. He insisted upon having a day fixed, and put me upon naming such as I would desire should be present, and intimated he should take it very ill not to be herein complied with.

He first named Principal Carstaires, as a person that he was well satisfied would not be disagreeable; and then put me upon naming others. Accordingly, I mentioned Mr. Currey, the Moderator of the Assembly; Mr. Wiley, of Hamilton, who was reckoned as long an headed man as any of their ministers; Mr. Patrick Cummin, of Ormistoun, a plain-hearted sincere man, but a strict and zealous Presbyterian; and Mr. James Webster, who was over-orthodox, and as great a bigot as any in the country. He smiled at the thought of the tempers of the persons I named, and said, we should have a pretty odd medley; but promised he would do his utmost to get them all together, and that they should not fail of being invited. All the persons aforesaid did meet, accordingly, except Mr. Webster, who was out of town, as he was also at such time as I sent to his lodg-

ings with notice that I would pay my respects to him, had he been at home, and at leisure.

We had a very handsome entertainment, and abundance of free discourse. Among other things, I took notice of the great number of young faces in the assembly, which I could not but be a little surprised at, when they had so many persons of great gravity and experience wholly missing. I particularly told Mr. Wiley, that was looked upon as so wise a man, that it was surprising a gentleman of his ability and worth should not be a member of this Assembly where his presence and counsel seemed so much needed, and might have been of so great use. His answer was, that he was an old man, going out of the world, and past such things.

I replied, while God was pleased to continue his life, and grant him so much health and vigour as he seemed to be blessed with, I could not see, upon what grounds he could deny the Church the benefit of his help and counsels in this public way, in such critical circumstances as they were in; especially when he might so easily have been chosen into the Assembly, as I could not allow myself to doubt, if he would have given any encouragement. His answer was, that whatever might appear to others, he laboured under many infirmities, that might well be allowed to give him his quietus from fatigues of this nature; that his being chosen into the Assembly was the easiest thing in the world, but that he had declared this time, as he had done several times

before, that he would not sit if chosen; and therefore they did very well to forbear choosing him.

I took the liberty to query how this part of his conduct could be reconciled with their commonly avowed principle, that the Presbyterian form of Church Government was most agreeable to the Word of God? Whether upon that supposition, a refusal to sit in one of their General Assemblies, if a man was chosen, and tolerably able to bear the fatigue of it, was not a refusal to comply with the call of God, and do him honour in his Church? His reply was, that he defied them all; and none must pretend to oblige him to what he was not of himself inclined to. Without pretending to press too close, I desired him to reconcile this to their professed principles. This led into abundance of discourse, during which I sat by as an auditor only, leaving it to the gentlemen present to argue the matter; and I must own they did it pretty strenuously and closely, till they had made him warm and angry.

We had also a good deal of discourse about the proceedings of the present Assembly, as to which they gave me farther light than I had before. Several things were also said concerning the late Union, (to which Mr. Wiley was all along very averse,) the interest of the Pretender in North Britain, the scruples of some of their ministers about the Abjuration Oath, the Episcopal meetings in and about Edinburgh, and their not praying for her Majesty, &c. I could not but be very thankful to all the

gentlemen for their freedom, and to Principal Sterling in particular, for giving me the opportunity of this conversation.

The refusal of the Episcopal Ministers, in and about Edinburgh, to pray for the Queen,* ran much in my thoughts. I often intimated, in mixed company, that I should be glad of an opportunity of free conversation with some of that stamp, to hear the reasons of their refusal, if they were free for discourse on the subject. At length, came a grave and elderly man to enquire for me, one afternoon, at my lodgings. He told me, he heard I was desirous to converse with some of the Episcopal persuasion in those parts, and that he came to offer himself for that purpose, and was free to give me what satisfaction he was able, about any thing I was disposed to make inquiries about. I was not a little pleased with the appearance and frankness of the gentleman, who told me his name was Moncrief. He seemed by his discourse to have a very serious sense of religion, and to be a stranger to that narrowness of spirit, for which many of that sort are remarkable.

At length, I asked him, how many episcopal meetings they might have in and about Edinburgh? As far as my memory serves me, he answered eleven. I asked, in how many her Majesty was prayed for? He told me, that for his part, he always prayed for the Queen; and he must leave it to others to

* See *infra*, p. 166.—Ed.

answer for themselves. I asked, if he could mention any other Episcopal meeting, but his own, where the Queen was prayed for? He acknowledged he could not. I farther queried, whether these his brethren did not look upon him with an evil eye, for herein differing from them? He replied, that he thought he had a right to act as he was persuaded in his own mind, as well as they. I told him, the Queen being at the head of the Protestant interest, I could not but wonder how any that thought much of praying for her, could imagine they had that interest at heart, as they ought: and asked, whether he had ever heard any thing offered by such gentlemen as these, that looked towards justifying them? His reply was, that he had often heard their conduct discoursed of, and had talked with great freedom about the matter with his own brother, who was one of them, but could never hear any thing offered that gave him satisfaction, that it was warrantable for Protestants to refuse to pray for a Protestant Queen.

I inquired how the ministers of the Established Church in North Britain carried it to him, who though Episcopal in his judgment, yet prayed for her Majesty, as well as they. He told me their carriage to him was very friendly and brotherly, and liable to no exception. Mr. Carstaires afterwards told me, that they had all along a very tender affection for this gentleman. I took the farther liberty of asking, whether he lay under any sort of hard-

ship from the magistrates, or rather did he not meet with civility from them also? He freely owned he was far from having any matter of complaint: for that the magistrates and the common people carried it with great respect to him upon all occasions. After abundance of free discourse, he took his leave; and I thought myself not a little obliged to him for his great civility and candour.

The very next day, I received a letter from this Mr. Moncrief's brother, (whom he had particularly mentioned) in which he intimated that he understood, that, being a stranger, I had a desire of conversing with some of the Episcopal way; and that if I would fix time and place, he would wait upon me, and be glad of the opportunity, &c. I returned for answer; that I had, the day before, had his brother's company, with whose conversation I was greatly pleased: and, the more, that he did assure me, that he constantly prayed for her Majesty, which I wondered how any that called themselves Protestants could neglect; adding, that I should be glad to see him the day following at my lodgings, if he was free for discourse upon that subject: but that, otherwise, I could not think it likely to answer any end. I heard no more of him: which I took to be owing to his unwillingness to discourse with a stranger on that subject.

Another time, my servant came to me early in the morning, telling me, one Mrs. Yule desired to speak with me. Upon entering my room, she told

me she was impatient to see me, hearing I came from England, where she had a son, that was a child of a great many prayers and tears; who was no way to be satisfied without going into our country, which had almost broke her heart. She earnestly inquired, whether I could give her any account of him. I told her, England was a very large country, that had several millions of inhabitants, of whom I was not able to give the least account. She told me, that she heard I came from London, and that her son was somewhere thereabouts. I made answer, that even the City of London itself was so very large a place, that though I was born and bred there, there were many hundreds of thousands, of whom neither I, nor they that had a much larger acquaintance, knew any thing, any more than if there were no such persons. She told me that he had gone through his studies in the College of Edinburgh, and was a young preacher, somewhere near our City of London, and she was extremely desirous to hear how he behaved.

Upon a little recollection, I told her I could not but own I had heard of her son, and that he was well spoken of, and hopeful, though I could not say I had ever seen him. "Ah," said she, "he has given me a great deal of trouble by that unhappy fancy, that no place would serve him but England. If he had but gone to where they had the Gospel, I should not have been near so much concerned: whereas, now, I can have no rest in my spirit."

This odd sally of the poor woman a little surprised me, and I could not help being earnestly desirous to get to the bottom of the matter. I thereupon made inquiry what led her to imagine that we had not the Gospel in England, as well as they in Scotland? "Ah, Sir," said she presently, "I heartily wish you had it, as well as we; for then should I be much more easy in my child's case, than I either am, or have been, ever since he has been from me." "Why, really," said I, "I cannot be more assured of any thing than I am of this, that we have the Gospel as well as you, and the very same Gospel too; and I cannot allow myself to suppose that any of your ministers would offer to say any thing to the contrary. I am at a loss to conceive where you have picked up this notion."—"Ah, Sir," said she, "either I have all along been mistaken in the Gospel, (which I think I have not) or you in England (though you in some other things are many degrees beyond us) have not the Gospel."

My surprise continuing, I cried out, "Prithee, good woman, let me know what this Gospel is that you have, and we have not. Let us a little carefully examine this matter, that we may understand one another rightly. I can give you the utmost assurance, that our Bible in England is, word for word, the same with yours in Scotland, not only as to the Old Testament, of which some have too mean thoughts, but also as to the New, which is peculiarly styled the Gospel. From thence our ministers fetch

the matter of the sermons they preach, as well as yours: nor dare we urge those that sit under our ministry, to believe any thing, necessary to salvation, but what can be proved and confirmed from thence. That is the standard of truth with us, as well as with you. In this you may very safely believe me."— "Oh, Sir," said she, "now you are upon faith: and I must own myself very sensible, that your faith and ours is the very same."

I then said, that neither among them nor us did all that pretended to take the Word of God for the rule of faith and life, conform to it, and follow it as they ought. That though I was heartily glad to hear there were so many in North Britain that backed their Christian profession with a suitable practice, the number of whom I prayed God to increase, yet, if that were taken to be the case of all such as made a noise and stir about religion, and attended upon ordinances with an appearance of diligence, and pretended to be zealous for faith and purity, it would prove in the issue a gross mistake. On the other hand, though the number of serious Christians among us in England, was far from being so large as were to be desired, and might indeed have been expected, considering the great advantages with which we had long been favoured, yet there was reason to hope that a good number did sincerely fall in with God and his interest, and show the truth of their piety by its genuine fruits and effects.

"Oh! Sir," said she, by way of reply, "now you are fallen upon good works. As to them, I must own that, by the report I have heard, I am inclined to believe you have more of them with you than we have among us."—"Well then," said I, (in order to a yet farther trial,) "if the belief of what God has revealed, and the fruits and effects of that belief where it is sincere and hearty, are the same with us and you, how can it be, that you should have the Gospel with you, and not we also among us?"—"Ah! Sir," said she, "you have with you no Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies, and, therefore, have not the Gospel."—"And is that then," said I, "the Gospel? I am sure it is a poor, meagre, and despicable Gospel, if you rest there, and carry the matter no farther."

I could not help smiling at the woman's simplicity, and have often tempted others to do so, by relating this passage. Yet there is too much reason to be apprehensive, that multitudes in all countries inwardly think what this poor woman did not stick to express, that they who have not among them those religious formalities and appendages they have been trained up in the use of, and been long accustomed to, and taught to lay stress upon, are strangers to the Gospel, notwithstanding they are hearty lovers of God and true goodness; the more is the pity.

Another time, walking in the morning, along the city, and meeting Mr. Carstaires in my way, he de-

sired I would be with him at four o'clock that afternoon, and keeping myself free from all other engagements, be ready to go where he would conduct me. Querying where, he replied, I might safely venture under his conduct. He carried me to old Sir James Stuart's, the wonder of his age, for vivacity of spirit, briskness of parts, and readiness of memory, considering his years. Bishop Burnet says* he was "a man of great parts and of as great ambition." We found him, sitting in an elbow chair, to which he was confined. He embraced me, and intimated how well pleased he was that I would pay a visit to an old man, worn out, and just going off the stage.

I told him, I did myself a great deal of honour and pleasure, in waiting on a person that had been so eminent, at home and abroad, and so useful to his country. Salutations being over, he rang a bell, and gave orders to his servant, for wine and glasses, &c. straightly charging him to appear no more until he heard the bell ring. If any company came, his master was engaged, and not to be disturbed on any account whatever. The servant followed orders; and Sir James entered into free discourse about the civil and religious interests of this island; the great necessity and difficulty of the Union between England and Scotland, &c.

He showed it impossible to have secured their Church Settlement in North Britain, or to have kept out the Pretender without it; and how it might be

* "Own Time," i. 731.—C.

best improved. On all which heads he offered a great many very noble thoughts, which showed a wonderful and uncommon knowledge of men and things. He discoursed, also, concerning the Protestant interest, in general, its great declension, and the chief causes and occasions; and (among other things) of the power of France, and the sad growth of Deism. He much lamented, that we had so little integrity left among us, and that such slights had been put upon the memory of King William, &c.* In short,

* See vol. i. p. 440. "William the deliverer," says Major Cartwright, "was but half the friend to liberty which he pretended to be. Had he been a truly patriotic prince, his share in the expulsion of a tyrant would have been his smallest merit. He would have embraced the opportunity afforded him, by his own success, and the tide of reformation being set in, to have guarded the constitution against every conceivable danger towards which it had any tendency to be exposed.

"When the immortal and blessed Alfred had overthrown the oppressors of his country, he thought the work of a king only begun; and devoted the rest of his reign to the correcting abuses, the establishing of justice, and laying the broad foundations of liberty and happiness.

"But history shows William to have been a cold-hearted Dutchman, ungrateful to a people who had given him a crown, and more fond of power, than of squaring his government with the principles of the constitution. For one Alfred there are a thousand Charleses." See "Legislative Rights," &c. *Introd.* pp. xxxi. xxxii.

In Ireland, says Villers, "William III. founded a legal and constitutional tyranny. The Catholics were deprived of civil life, of property, of instruction itself. It was his pleasure to convert them into hordes of rude barbarous beggars." See "An

I cannot remember I ever spent a couple of hours in free conversation, with more satisfaction in my whole life.

I took opportunities, as they offered, of seeing what was most curious in Edinburgh. The principal street, I must own to be the finest (of a single street) that I ever saw. The houses are commonly seven stories high; and in "the Parliament Close," several are fourteen stories, all built of stone. For its bigness, this city is reckoned as populous as any in Europe. At the end of it stands the royal palace of Holyrood House, a handsome building. I there made a long visit to the old Countess of Sutherland, whom I had known, long before, in England. She had been a great favourite of good Queen Mary's; and, in her advanced age, had an apartment in that palace, in which she lived retiredly, and in the exercise of great devotion.

I saw there, among other things, the long gallery in which are the pictures of the Kings of Scotland, down from Fergus the Ist.* I saw also the Castle, which stands on so high, hard, and steep a rock, at the other end of the city. It is, undoubtedly, a place of great natural strength, but seemed, when I

Essay on the spirit and influence of the Reformation," (1805) p. 149.

Thus with strict historical propriety, the late advocates of political power, exclusively Protestant, over a country generally Catholic, pursued their purpose in *Orange* societies.—Ed.

* With whom Buchanan begins his History, lib. iv.—Ed.

saw it, to be ill provided with ammunition; and as far as I could perceive, very few of the guns were fit for service, a thing freely complained of afterwards, when the Pretender made his descent upon North Britain.

In this castle, since the Union of the two kingdoms, they keep the crown, sceptre, and sword of state, in an iron chest, with several locks and keys. They are not to be seen, unless they that keep the several keys are all present at the same time, which, I was informed upon the spot, had never been known since the Union. I saw also Herriot's Hospital, which is well endowed, carefully managed, and justly esteemed a noble charity; and the Anatomy Hall, very commodious for the purpose. We forgot (I know not how) to see the Physic Garden, which I have been informed (allowing for its northern situation) is extremely well provided.

I saw also the Library belonging to the College, well furnished with printed books of all sorts, ancient and modern; and some manuscripts. I there viewed the skull of the famous and eminently learned George Buchanan, of whom the nation so much glories. It is so very thin, that a man may see through it: also the original of the Bohemian Protest against the Council of Constance, for burning John Husse,* and Jerome of Prague, in 1415, with

* "Cette execution," says L'Enfant, "fuit en Boheme comme de l'huile jettée dans un brasier ardent. Dès que la nouvelle en vint à Prague, elle enflamma plus que jamais le zêle de ses dis-

one hundred and five seals of the great men of Bohemia, Moravia, &c. hanging at it.* It was brought from abroad by a Scottish gentleman, who procured it in his travels.

The College is a good building, with three courts. There is a high tower over the great gate, which looks to the city. The public schools are large and convenient. There are also accommodations in the College for a number of students to lodge, though they are seldom made use of, but by those in meaner circumstances. There are also handsome dwellings for the Professors and Principal, with good gardens.

At another time, I spent an afternoon in the Advocates' Library, which is large and well furnished. There is, also, a large collection of medals and coins, made by Mr. Southerland, some of which are very nice and curious.†

One passage, as to their Parliament House, I must not forget. Walking, one afternoon, in the close adjoining, a man stepped to me with a key in his hand, asking if I was disposed to take a view of

ciples. Ils s'assemblerent dans la Chapelle de Bethlehem pour décerner les honneurs du Martyre à Jean Hus et à Jerôme de Prague, qu'ils croyoient avoir déjà subi le même sort que son Collégue." See "Hist. du Concile de Constance," (1714) p. 330.—Ed.

* "La Lettre est addressée à tout le Concile, et signée d'environ soixante seigneurs, tant le Boheme que de Moravie." *Ibid.* p. 331.—Ed.

† Of the Consular Medals in this Collection, see Mr. Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 119, &c.—C.

their Parliament House. I presently made answer, that I fully intended to have a sight of it before I left Edinburgh; but that was not a convenient time, because I was expecting a gentleman whom I had appointed to meet me there. He replied, that he would leave a youth upon the spot, with orders to let any gentleman he should observe walking there know how I was employed, and that I should be with him presently. He added, it would be a pleasure to him to gratify a stranger (as he perceived me to be) with the sight.

He carried me through the several apartments, telling me that this was for such a purpose, and that for another. In such a place the officers of the crown used to sit. There, such and such persons commonly sat. As he was talking, he mixed sighs with his words. I asked him the occasion, and he made me this reply, that it forced sighs from him to think that all this was now no more. I told him, it was to be hoped, the Union would compensate for any thing formerly among them that would now be wanting.

Upon coming out, I was about to give the honest man somewhat for his pains. He seemed to resent it, that I should offer any thing of that nature; telling me, that he had not so mercenary a spirit as to have attempted to put me upon a thing of that kind, if he had expected any thing in return, and that it was a pleasure to him to be able in such a way to pay his respects to a stranger. I have often

thought that a stranger might walk long enough with us, where there was any thing to be seen, in London or Westminster, before he would meet with like treatment.

The first Lord's day after I reached Edinburgh, I was an hearer in the New Church. There were many noblemen present, the magistrates of the city, and members of the Assembly. The auditory was much crowded, as was the case also in Glasgow and Aberdeen. It was a very common complaint, that they wanted more places for public worship. The ministers, even in the most solemn auditories, preached with neckcloths and coloured cloaks, which a little surprised me. It was their common way, unless they were professors of divinity, or persons remarkable for age or gravity. It was their usual way to expound some portion of Scripture, during about half an hour, which they called lecturing. After a short prayer, a sermon followed of the same length. They usually take as much pains in studying for lecturing, as for sermons; and some a great deal more.

The second Lord's day I was desired by Mr. Carstaires to give them a sermon in the New Church. Though it was hard upon me to forbear the use of notes in the pulpit, which they have generally laid aside,* yet I could not refuse to comply with the

* Or rather had not yet adopted. Bishop Burnet's son, describing his father's entrance on the ministry, says,

"All sermons in Scotland were delivered without book.

motion. The way I took was, to fix the heads of my discourse, and the chief passages of Scripture,

They were premeditated discourses, first written, and then learned by heart." He mentions, as an exception, "Mr. Nairn, minister of the Abbey Church, Edinburgh," who "always preached *extempore*."

Burnet, by Mr. Nairn's advice, attempted "the same method, which he continued to practise all the rest of his life. The only time that he was ever at a pause in preaching, was in 1705, when appointed to preach the thanksgiving sermon at St. Paul's, and it was the only discourse he had ever wrote beforehand." See "Life of Bishop Burnet," annexed to his "Own Time," ii. 675.

The success of this method an intelligent contemporary has thus described:

"1674. Nov. 15, I first heard that famous and excellent preacher, Dr. Burnet, (author of the History of the Reformation) on *Coloss.* iii. 10, with such flow of eloquence, and fulness of matter, as showed him to be a person of extraordinary parts." *Evelyn*, ii. 398.

Whitgift was, like Burnet, eminently distinguished as a preaching prelate. "When Bishop of Worcester, unless extraordinary businesses of *the Marches of Wales* hindered him, he never failed to preach upon every sabbath-day; many times riding five or six miles to a parish church. When Archbishop, no Sunday escaped him in Kent. He would oftentimes preach so early in the morning in some parish church, both in Worcester and Canterbury, that he came afterwards to the sermon in the cathedral." His method was probably very uncommon, in England, if not singular.

"He never preached, but he first wrote his notes in Latin, and afterwards kept them during his life. He would say, that whoever took that pains before his preaching, the elder he waxed, the better he should discharge that duty; but if he

for proof or illustration, in my memory. After which, I read all my notes twice or thrice over, and thought it would be a little strange, if I could not retain so much of discourses calculated for an hour's continuance, as would enable me to hold out for half an hour. My discourse in the New Church was from *Acts* xi. 25, "And the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch." I touched on the excellence and honourableness of that name, and showed what it imported and obliged those to that wore it. I afterwards pressed such as knew its value to be contented with it, and careful to answer it, without pretending to make any addition, by attempting which they would in reality take from it.

An account of this discourse being given to Mr. James Webster,* who was a man of great warmth, but a narrow spirit, he took offence at it as Latitudinarian, and after I had left Edinburgh censured me, upon that account, publicly in the pulpit, making some peevish and angry reflections. Mr. Carstaires, with great mildness and prudence, afterwards replying, in the same pulpit, I heard no more of the matter.

Another Lord's day, I preached at Libertoun, three miles from Edinburgh, in the church of Mr. Samuel Semple, whom I had left behind me at

trusted only to his memory, his preaching in time would become prattling." See "Life of Whitgift, by Sir Geo. Paule," (1699) pp. 87, 88.—Ed.

* See *supra*, p. 161.—Ed.

Westminster labouring hard there in the Cotton Library, in order to making collections for an Ecclesiastical History of North Britain, some time, in hand, though I cannot hear it is finished to this day.

Mr. Semple and I had agreed, that he should take the liberty of my house at Westminster, (and I of his at Libertoun,) and sometimes preach for me, and I for him. Spending a Lord's day at Libertoun, Mr. Baker preached in the morning, and I, in the afternoon, to very numerous audiences. Mr. Semple had intimated, that I might have some children to baptize, and desired me to have a little discourse with the fathers, which was his usual way, and would be well taken. Accordingly, as I was preparing for pulpit service, word was brought, that four men had children to be baptized.

Calling them in, I talked with freedom, of what an happiness we ought to esteem it, that a gracious God was ready to accept of ours, as well as of ourselves, and to afford an entail of the blessings of his covenant, both upon us, and on those that descend from us, provided we and they faithfully adhered to him, whose right to us and them was indisputable; and, therefore, to be cheerfully owned, with solemnity. At the same time, I endeavoured to possess them with a just sense, of the difference between being admitted to the outward marks of God's favour, and a sharing in the spiritual benefits and blessings he is

ready to bestow. The honest men seemed affected, pleased, and thankful.

When sermon was over, they presented themselves before me, in a row, in the face of a numerous congregation, with their children in their arms. Before I proceeded to baptize them, I briefly hinted at the nature and end of baptism, and then putting up a prayer, leaned forward to receive the first of the four children from the father. To my great surprise, he, instead of freely delivering it, drew back, and a number of the people smiled. I, thereupon, applied myself to the other fathers in their order, holding out my arms to receive the children, but they were as unwilling to part with them, as the first. By this time I found a number of the people well enough disposed to laugh out.

I paused a little, stooped down, and spake in a low voice to the fathers, telling them they had not the least occasion to be shy of delivering their children to me; for I should only pour water on them, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and then return them again. Upon which, the first father freely offered me his child, and the other three in their order, and I baptized them. Being come out of the church, I inquired into the reason of the shyness of these honest men; and found that it is not the practice in Scotland for ministers to take children into their arms when they baptize them; and that the honest men were in fear,

lest I might sign their children with the cross, for which I am sure there was no occasion. I, for my part, was very glad that matter was so well over.

Sir Alexander Gilmer very respectfully carried me and my company home that evening to his house at Craigmillar, where we were nobly treated, by him and his lady, and lodged. The next morning, we walked with Sir Alexander in his grounds, and he seemed to take no little pleasure in observing the thriving of some trees of his own planting. This led me to take notice to him, of the uncommonness of trees in those parts, of which I inquired the reason. He told me their gentlemen were very fond of such plantations, but the country people had an incurable aversion to them; having a notion that they spoiled the ground, and would eat out the heart of it. He intimated, that it was very common, notwithstanding the strict prohibitions of their laws, backed with suitable penalties, for the country people to watch their opportunities, and come in large bodies, and destroy the trees;* in which respect he had been a great sufferer, notwithstanding his seat was so near Edinburgh. So hard a thing is it to shake off popular errors!

Sir Alexander, out of great civility, and to gratify our curiosity, favoured us with the sight of some

* The knowledge of this practice, might, perhaps, have moderated Dr. Johnson's sarcasms, on "the paucity of trees in Scotland." See his "Life by Sir John Hawkins," (1787,) p. 482. —Ed.

things in his neighbourhood, very entertaining. We went first to Roslin Chapel;* and the Castle, a stately old building, that appears by the ruins to have been very curious and magnificent. Near adjoining, is one of the most agreeable places for an eremetical life that my eyes ever saw. We went from thence to Hawthornden Caves,† hewn out of a rock. But beholding them is enough to inspire any man, that is

* Pennant mentions "at Roslin, a most beautiful and entire Chapel of Gothic architecture." See "Tour in Scotland," (1772) p. 63, *note*.

Mr. Boswell, on his "Tour to the Hebrides," with Dr. Johnson, in 1773, says: "We surveyed Roslin Castle, the romantic scene around it, and the beautiful Gothic Chapel." *Journal*, (1786) p. 419; *Biog. Brit.* v. 369—Ed.

† Hawthornden is rendered remarkable by the residence of the celebrated Poet Drummond, who died in 1649, aged sixty-three, "and was interred in his own isle, in the Church of Lesswade," adjoining. "Ben Jonson had so high a respect for Drummond's abilities, and so great a desire to see him, that he walked to Hawthornden to visit him." Another Biographer says, that "Jonson, after his return to England, did write a poem, on his poetic pilgrimage to Scotland."

Mr. Boswell says: "We proceeded to Hawthornden, and viewed the caves; and I, all the while had *rare Ben* in my mind, and was pleased to think that this place was visited by another celebrated wit of England." *Ibid.* See "Lives of Scottish Poets," (1222) part ii. 125.

"The caves, in the lofty precipice, on which the House of Hawthornden stands, are artificially hewn out of the rock. It is supposed that they were originally intended as places of refuge during the wars that long subsisted between the Scots and Picts." *Ibid.* p. 116.

capable, with a poetical genius.* Thence we went to Newbottle, a house belonging to the Marquis of Lothian. It is old and small, and has nothing very curious, except a good collection of family pictures. But the avenue is fine and stately, divided into three parts or stages, that succeed each other, adorned with good greens and statues.†

We went, in the last place, to Dalkeith, a house belonging to the Duchess of Buccleugh.‡ We there found some difficulty of admission; but, upon my sending my duty to the Lady Duchess, by her gentleman, with an intimation that I was the more desirous (with her Grace's permission) to see that house, because it was there that my grandfather, coming down to make a visit to General Monk,§ was an instrument in helping to lay the foundation of the Restoration,‖ we were readily allowed the sight of it. When we had gone over the whole, we were carried into a parlour, where we found a table spread, with ham and tongue. We drank her Grace's health,

* "If tradition may be credited," Drummond's *Cypress Grove* "was composed in one of the caves, which, to this day," bears that name. *Ibid*; *Pennant*, pp. 61, 62.—Ed.

† "It was once a Cistercian Abbey, founded in 1140. The House resembles a French *Chateau*. The situation is very favourable to trees, as appears by the vast size of those near the house. The Marquis possesses a most valuable collection of portraits, many of them very fine, and almost all very instructive." *Ibid.* pp. 59, 60.—Ed.

‡ See *Pennant*, pp. 62, 63.—Ed.

§ Who resided there during his command in Scotland.—Ed.

‖ See *Account*, pp. 5, 6; "Diary of Burton," ii. 320, 321.—Ed.

with abundance of thanks; and at length, took our repectful leave of Sir Alexander, and returned to Edinburgh.

Soon after, I was invited to dinner, by Sir Patrick Johnston, one of the Commissioners for the Union, and afterwards terribly insulted by the mob on that account. He was Lord Provost, and entertained us very handsomely. I was, according to their usual compliment, made a free Burgess, and Guild Brother of Edinburgh, and presented with my Burgess Ticket,* without any charge. This they reckon one of the greatest compliments they can pass upon strangers.

I was, at different times, invited to dinner by my Lord Justice Clerk, Major-general Maitland, Sir Alexander Cunningham, and several of their Ministers in the city. Among other persons of worth and eminence whom I saw there, was the ingenious and learned Sir James Dalrymple, who wrote against Dr. Lloyd, (Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards of Worcester,†) about the antiquity of the Scottish nation.

I was, one day, invited by the Masters of the College to go with them to Leith, to take a fish dinner with which they were to entertain their Principal Carstaires, according to annual custom. I found the way thither exceedingly pleasant, and that, a fine and convenient port; one of the keys of their country,

* It bears date April 20, 1709.—C.

† He died, 1717, aged 90.—Ed.

and an admirable harbour. It is, beyond comparison, the richest in goods, of any town in the south of Scotland, most of the foreign merchandizes of the trading men in Edinburgh, lying there in warehouses.

Among other fish, there was one I had neither seen, nor heard of before, a sea-cat; the head and tail like those of a cat; but the flesh very white, and exceeding firm. I could have been well enough satisfied with the sight of it as a curiosity, without tasting it; but was over-persuaded by the good company, and found it an admirable fish, rather beyond a turbot. I inquired whether they had any way of preserving such a creature alive, so that it might be brought by sea into England; but was told it had been tried, several times, to no purpose.

I was extremely pleased with this day's entertainment and conversation. One thing that gave a peculiar relish was, the entire freedom and harmony between the Principal and the Masters of the College, they expressing a veneration for him as a common father, and he a tenderness for them, as if they had all been his children. Were it so in all societies of that sort, they would be much more likely to answer the ends of their institution, than be running into brangles and contentions, and harbouring mutual jealousies and suspicions.

A few days after, Principal Carstaires, calling on me in the morning, told me, that at a meeting of the Masters of their college, (of which by the way I had

not the least notice) it had been determined not to let me go from among them, without conferring a token of their respect, in an academical way. I told him, I was very thankful, (as I had good reason) for the many civilities already received, for which I was at a loss how to make them a suitable return. He said, they had agreed to present me with a Diploma, for a Doctorate, and begged my acceptance of it. My reply was, that if they would make me a Master of Arts, I should not at all demur, upon accepting it; but as for any thing farther, I begged their excuse, and desired it might be waved, and that, for this reason, among others; that it would look like affectation, and a piece of singularity, for me to take the title of Doctor, when so many of my superiors went without it.

To which he replied, that he found the very same thing as he mentioned, was designed by other academies in their parts, when I came to visit them; that they would express their respect in that way; that they of Edinburgh were desirous to be first; that I should hardly escape it in other places; that they should think I affronted them if I refused their intended civility; and that the method they had determined to take, would effectually prevent any charge of affectation or singularity. For at the time they paid this respect to me, they would also send a diploma for a Doctor's degree, to Mr. Daniel Williams, and Mr. Joshua Oldfield. As matters then stood, I was apprehensive that my refusing the

offer, would have been thought a piece of rudeness, and thereupon I submitted.*

There were, yet, two things of which I was desirous, before I quitted this country. One was, joining with some of the brethren in North Britain at one of their Communions, of which I had read and heard so much. But this was not the season for the Communion at Edinburgh, which, at that time, used to be administered at each church in the city but once in a year, though at such different times, that they who were so disposed, might have an opportunity of receiving it, thrice a year, upon being recommended by the ministers on whom they ordinarily attended, to neighbouring churches. I have since heard, (I must own, with pleasure,) that they have determined, that the Ordinance shall, for the future, be administered more frequently, for which I hope many will have cause to bless God.

Another thing I desired was, to see some one, fit to be regarded, that had what they commonly call the second sight; or at least to get such an account of that matter, from persons of credit, as I might depend upon. I had read much about it, particularly in Mr. Martin's "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland,"† and had had a great

* See *Appendix*, No. 2.

† "The government, religion, and customs of the inhabitants; and also, of the second sight, or faculty of foreseeing things by vision, so common among them, 1703." See Hawkins's "Life of Johnson," pp. 473–475.—Ed.

deal of discourse on that subject with several, and particularly with the old Earl of Cromarty, who was Secretary of State for Scotland, and reckoned one of more than common sense. His lady, the Countess of Weemse, was several years in communion with me at Westminster. Waiting on her, I had the opportunity of free and frequent conversation with his lordship. I found, by discourse, that this lord most firmly believed the second sight to be a great reality, and he would tell many surprising stories concerning it, several of which appeared to be altogether incredible. But when I told him I had been informed that his lordship had this second sight, he utterly disowned it.

When I came into North Britain I often talked about it in company, and met with several that gave credit to current stories concerning it, but with no one that could give me the satisfaction I desired. While I was at Edinburgh, I had some Manuscripts put into my hands, concerning it. But, when I inquired for good proof, I still found it was to seek, upon one pretence or another. Many told me that it was only in the Highlands, persons that had this gift were to be met with. I perceived it to be a prevailing opinion, that the thing was now much abated,*

* Mr. Pennant, "1769. Aug. 21," on his route from "Dungsby Bay," says he "passed near the seat of a gentleman not long deceased; the last who was believed to be possessed of the *second sight*.

"Originally, he made use of the pretence, in order to render

by some ascribed to one cause, and by others, to another. Upon the whole, I was as much at a loss

himself more respectable with his clan; but, at length, in spite of fine abilities, was made a dupe to his own artifices, became possessed with a serious belief of the faculty, and, for a considerable number of years before his death, was made truly unhappy by this strange opinion, which originally arose from the following accident.

"A boat of his was, on a very tempestuous night, at sea. His mind, filled with anxiety at the danger his people were in, furnished him with every idea of the misfortune that really befel them. He, suddenly starting up, pronounced, that his men would be drowned; for he had seen them pass before him with wet garments and dripping locks. The event was correspondent, and he from that time grew confirmed in the reality of spectral predictions." *Tour*, p. 164.

A circumstance which occurred, within my recollection, in a neighbouring county, though the event was happily different, might have served, like this melancholy event, to confirm the opinions of those who expect, in these later ages of the Christian dispensation, occasional divine communications of predictive power, beyond those fair and rational anticipations:

"When old experience does attain
To something like prophetic strain."

An exemplary aged lady of the Society of Friends had left her family for America from an impression, on her mind, of a divine mission to Friends in that country. When her return was expected, news arrived that the vessel, in which she was known to have embarked, had foundered, and all on board had perished. A venerable friend now assured his associates, in defiance of probability, that though the vessel had been lost, their friend was preserved. The next account was, that she had clung to a part of the wreck, in an extraordinary manner, till taken up by a passing vessel. The lady, who died a few years

about it, after all my inquiries, when I came from thence, as when I first went thither.*

Though it was my design, from first going into North Britain, to make my chief and longest stay at Edinburgh, yet, being there, I was for seeing other places, also. At length, I thought it high time to move farther north, that so the places we thought of seeing might not be wholly passed by, and that my separation from my family, congregation, and friends, might not be too long protracted, so as to become matter of complaint and uneasiness. I must, indeed, own, that though I often heard from home, yet I had no complaints. Instead of any thing of that kind, before I quitted Edinburgh, I received a very kind and obliging letter from my congregation, (written by one, in the name of the rest,) signifying that they were well pleased and thankful to hear of my welfare, and of the kind Providence that attended me in my travelling motions, and the respectful treatment I met with: and desiring me not to straiten myself as to time, but declaring that if it might be for the service of the public, or likely to conduce to the promoting

since, soon returned to her family and her benevolent occupations; an incontrovertible evidence, no doubt, to all willing believers, of occasional modern miraculous impressions.—Ed.

* There are several curious letters on this subject, with extraordinary relations, in the *Correspondence*, annexed to "Mem. of Pepys," (1825) ii. 174–198. See, also *Evelyn*, iii. 176.—Ed.

and establishing of my own health, they would contentedly dispense with my absence for a longer time than had been mentioned, and be easy with such supplies as could be provided; adding, that they hoped and prayed that my return to them might be safe, prosperous, and happy.

This, I must own, was very obliging and comfortable, yet I was not willing to overdo it, or to be too long absent; therefore, after taking leave of my friends at Edinburgh, with hearty thanks for all their civilities, and a cold treat given the Principal and Masters of the College one evening, (which was all that I could prevail with them to accept) I left that city, to go to Aberdeen. Mr. Bennet, indeed, went no farther than Edinburgh, and returned from thence to Newcastle. But the rest of us who came together from London, went forward, and had the company of Mr. Dickson, of Whitehaven, who came to us at Edinburgh, bringing with him Mr. Sorey, a young gentleman, grandson to Dr. Gilpin,* Mr.

* M. D., whom Mr. Bennet had succeeded; see *supra*, p. 147; "Monthly Repos." vi. 514. He appears to have died about 1700, but the date has not been recorded. Of Dr. Gilpin, as a preacher, Calamy says:—

"His expressions were conceived, and his sermons delivered, without the use of notes; and he was qualified for that way of preaching. His pregnant memory, his ready invention, his great presence of mind, his natural fluency, that made him able to speak well and gracefully, with ease and assurance, entitled him to it; and that which completed all, it came from a serious

Beard, also (another countryman of ours, who came from Worcestershire, studied at Edinburgh, and afterwards took the degree of Doctor of Physic) here joined us. Professor Cumin favoured us also with his company, and, for the most part, was our guide; and, it must be owned, by his acquaintance and interest, did us much service, in the course of our journey.

We went directly to Lord Hopetoun's, a noble seat upon the Frith of Forth, new-built after the modern form, with apartments sufficient for several noble families, and a very curious plantation of trees and garden ground, so situated as to have a most agreeable prospect of the Frith. We viewed it very particularly, and were surprised to find such a building in that part of the country.* My Lord was

mind, the concern of which was visibly to be read both in his countenance and expressions." *Account*, p. 155.

When the Lord Protector Oliver had projected the foundation "of a College of students at Durham," the name of "Richard Gilpin, of Graystock," was among the appointed "visitors." See "Diary of Burton," ii. 537.—Ed.

* "Hopetoun-House is the handsomest I saw in North Britain. The front is enriched with pilasters; the wings, at some distance, joined to it by a beautiful colonnade. One wing is the stables, the other the library.

"Nothing can equal the grandeur of the approach to the house, or the prospect from it. The situation is bold, on an eminence commanding a view of the Frith of Forth, bounded on the north by the county of Fife. The middle is chequered with islands, and to the south-east is a vast command of East Lo-

from home; but we were treated very civilly. From thence, we took water at Queen's Ferry,* crossed the Frith, and landed at Kinghorn; whence we went to Kirkaldy, and Dysert, at which we lodged. This (we were informed) is a better living than ordinary; and Mr. Pitcairn, then in possession, treated us with great civility. From thence, the next morning, we went for St. Andrew's, another of the Scottish universities. As we drew near, we went over Magus Moor, and saw the very place where Dr. Sharp, the Archbishop, was murdered.† It is distinguished by a heap of common stones, thrown there as a memorial.

St. Andrew's (as the several royal boroughs we passed through, in those parts) is full of ruins, and sadly decayed, though there are marks and tokens of a very flourishing place in former times. Here we saw the remains of the Castle of Cardinal Beaton, (that bitter and cruel enemy of the Reformation) out of a window of which, he was a looker-on at the time of the burning of the famous Mr. George Wishart,‡ who, while he was suffering for his reli-

thian, and the terminating object the great conic hill of North Berwick." *Pennant*, pp. 226, 227.—Ed.

* "Being the passage much used by Margaret, Queen to Malcolm III. and sister to Edgar Atheling; or, as others say, because she and her brother first landed there after their escape from William the Conqueror." *Pennant*, p. 64.—Ed.

† May 3, 1679.—C.

See Crookshank's "Hist. of the Church of Scotland," (1749) ii. 17-23.—Ed.

‡ In 1546.—C.

gion with an unshaken constancy, declared in the hearing of many, that he who from an high window there, beheld him with so much pride, should within few days lie there as ignominiously as he was then seen proudly to rest himself;* which, though at that time very unlikely, fell out accordingly.†

We visited the three colleges in this city, St. Salvator's, St. Mary's, and St. Leonard's. The Masters

* See Burnet's "History of the Reformation," i. 320, and Spotswood's "History of the Church of Scotland," lib. ii, p. 82.—C.

"From a balcony in a tower of his castle, which was hung with tapestry, the Cardinal and the prelates, reclining upon rich cushions, beheld the inhuman scene. This insolent triumph, more than all his sufferings, affected the magnanimity of the sufferer." See Dr. Stuart's "Reformation in Scotland," (1805) pp. 59, 60.—Ed.

† "May 29. The Cardinal was in his castle, which he was fortifying after the strongest fashion of that age. The conspirators, at different times, early in the morning entered into it. The astonished prelate, alarmed with their noise, looked from his window, and was informed that his castle was taken by Norman Leslie. It was in vain that he endeavoured to secure the door of his chamber by bolts and chests. The conspirators brought fire, and were ready to apply it, when admitting them into his presence, he implored their mercy.

"James Melvill reminded him, in general terms, of the enormity of his sins, and reproached him, in a more particular manner, with the death of Mr. Wishart. Waiting for no answer to his harangue, he thrust the Cardinal three times through the body with his dagger." *Ibid.* pp. 62, 63. See Buchanan's *Historia*, lib. xv. s. 37, 41.—Ed.

were from home, except my old acquaintance, Principal Haddow, one of my fellow-students at Utrecht.* Their colleges are much decayed. The great church appears, by its ruins, to have been an exceeding large and very noble structure; some say, the largest in Christendom, being seven feet longer, and two broader, than St. Peter's at Rome. Mr. Anderson, minister of the chief church now used there, would fain have persuaded me to have spent a Lord's day, and preached in Archbishop Sharp's pulpit, at that time, his. But we were all for hastening yet further north.

The next morning, we crossed the Tay in a ferry-boat, and left the beautiful town of Dundee a little on our left hand. After landing, we went for Forfar, where we found the Presbyterians, though of the church legally established, far from beloved. This plainly appeared from the answer returned by the landlady of the house in which we baited, (the most noted public house in the town) to a question started by one in our company. He asked her, whether they were hearty lovers of the Presbyterians in that town? She answered with an hearty curse or two upon all of that sort, which, she said, were the best marks of good-will those of that stamp must expect from the inhabitants of that town. We went from thence to Montrose, by the sea-side, and there lodged. That seems to be a pretty town, and to stand well for trade. The next day, we carried

* In 1688.—C. See vol. i. p. 172.—Ed.

provisions with us, being to pass through a poor country, and came at night to Aberdeen.

There are two towns of that name, Old Aberdeen and New, a mile distant from each other. One stands upon the Don, and the other upon the Dee. We went first to the New Town. Upon entering, and all the way as we passed to our inn, I could not but observe a very different look and carriage of the people, from what I had taken notice of in any town before. They seemed to lower upon us, and gnash their teeth, and give many signs of wrath and indignation, at which I was surprised, not having room for the least guess or conjecture at the cause. I begged Professor Cumin, when we came to our inn, to go out as our spy, make inquiry, and try if he could discover the occasion of the uneasiness and disturbance of the people, which was so visible.

He had observed the same, and readily went forth. At his return, he informed us that the people had been informed that the French Prophets, and their associates and abettors, were going about that part of the country, and had threatened them with a visit; and they looked on us as a part of their company, and were thereupon very much disposed to insult us. He, at the same time, told us, he had taken effectual care to satisfy the populace as to their great mistake, and to convince them we were a very different sort of persons; so that he had no doubt but we were safe, and might be very easy.

We afterwards met with the utmost civility during the whole of our stay, and found this one of the politest towns in North Britain.

Salmon, with us so dear, is here extremely cheap.* Being so informed, I was for making trial; and accordingly bought in the common market as good a salmon for twelve pence, as one need desire to see. I told our landlady the price of it, as thinking I had enough in conscience for my money. She told me I was imposed on, and that if she had gone to market, they would not have had the face to have asked her above two groats for the very same fish, and very probably might have taken sixpence.

The next day, we saw the Marischal College,† where Principal Anderson and Professor Smith, (both afterwards ejected at the visitation of the College, for being in the interest of the Pretender,) were exceedingly civil. The latter presented me with several things he had printed. We were much pleased with the pictures of men of letters‡ in their long gallery; and afterwards took a view of the town,

* At Inverness in 1769, "salmon" appears to have been sold at "one penny and one penny halfpenny per pound." *Pennant*, p. 148.—Ed.

† "Founded by George Earl of Marechal, 1593." *Pennant*, p. 119.—Ed.

‡ Among these is "Andrew Cant, minister of Aberdeen, from whom the Spectator (147) derives the word to *cant*; but, in all probability, Andrew canted no more than the rest of his brethren. The word seems to be derived from *canto*; from their singing out their discourses." *Ibid.* pp. 119, 120.—Ed.

and were everywhere treated with abundance of respect.

I waited on Mr. Osborn, Professor of Divinity, a venerable old gentleman, at that time confined by illness. Discoursing of the proceedings of the late Assembly, he frankly told me, it was not well taken among them, that I should there represent the conduct of their synod of Aberdeen, as a revival of the Inquisition.* I told him he was very sensible, that I, a mere stranger among them in North Britain, though much obliged for their great civility, had nothing to do to speak in their Assembly, nor did I pretend to, or attempt it. But when the Moderator was pleased, in a free and familiar, but private way, to ask a question, I thought, without just offence to any, I might be allowed to make him a free answer in the same way. And, if I said any thing at all to the Moderator, in return to his question, I thought it became me to signify my real apprehension of the matter, without any collusion.

I thereupon freely owned to the Professor, with whom I was discoursing, that nothing appeared to me more like the method of the Inquisition, than the way of procedure used by their synod, wherein by captious questions proposed, such persons as had fallen under suspicion were endeavoured to be drawn to drop somewhat, by which they might be ensnared and caught, and which might afterwards be a matter of accusation. Professor Osborn said, that with-

* See *supra*, p. 156.—Ed.

out some such method, some men's errors would never be discovered.

To which I replied, I conceived it was better to deal by them, as our blessed Saviour did by Judas, whose treachery and baseness he knew, and was able with ease to have detected, to the uncasing him, and laying him open to others. Yet he suffered him to remain concealed, till by his carriage he discovered his own false-heartedness. I added, that if what I had dropped was conveyed to others, it was not by me; but was entirely owing to the inquisitiveness of the members of the Assembly, who gave it a quick conveyance from one to another till it passed quite round. Whereas I only told it to the Lord Forbes, to whom I could not, without downright rudeness, have refused to give an answer.* While I had this discourse with Professor Osborn, Mr. Blackwell, who afterwards succeeded him in his Profession,* was also present.

The day following, we were invited to Old Aberdeen, where stands King's College, which has produced a number of learned men ;† but we found the building greatly decayed.‡ The masters gave us

* And became Principal in 1717. He died 1728. His son was Dr. Blackwell, author of "The Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer," &c. See *Biog. Brit.* ii. 335.—Ed.

† "Hector Boethius was the first Principal, sent for from Paris, on an annual salary of 40 marks (Scots), at 13d. each." *Pennant*, p. 122.—Ed.

‡ In 1769, "The Chapel" was "very ruinous within," though there remained "some wood-work of exquisite workmanship,

an invitation to eat some salmon in perfection, out of the Don, where they had a property. We bore them company to the river's side, where was a little hut or booth; in one part a room with a fire, and in another, a room for company. Some persons employed, caught several fine salmon, and threw them directly into a pond, intending, when they had a number, to pick out some of the best to dress. As the fish were swimming about in this pond, dogs were sent in amongst them, who sometimes endeavoured to catch them in their teeth. The fish would, ever and anon turn, and either give them a flap with their tails, or bite them with their mouths, which set them a howling, and gave an odd sort of diversion to the standers-by. My relating which passage has sometimes occasioned diversion. I have happened to fall in the company of gentlemen that were lovers of sport, whom I have asked whether they ever saw salmon hunted by dogs, as I had done? Of which they could form no notion, till I explained the matter.

At length, some fish were chosen out for dressing. These were immediately put into the kettle, and set upon the table with no other sauce than a little salt and vinegar, or some of the liquor in which they were boiled. The taste was indeed so rich and luscious, that had we had such sauce as

preserved by the spirit of the Provost at the time of the Reformation." There is a "square tower, built by Cromwell, which will lodge one hundred students." *Ibid.* pp. 121, 122.—Ed.

sauce as usual with us, we should have been in no small danger of a surfeit. I thought it not unneedful therefore, to caution the young ones with me, to eat but sparingly, for fear of the consequence. We had some excellent French claret, which the gentlemen had taken care to send thither for that purpose, to wash our fish down.

Before I left my inn, in the morning, I was given to understand, that the Masters of the College intended that afternoon to confer a degree upon me in form, and with solemnity, in their chapel. That I might not be deficient in due respect, I bespoke a supper, to be ready that evening, for the entertainment of the Masters, and all the servants of the College, leaving it entirely to the landlady, to provide what she thought proper and handsome, and that would be agreeable upon such an occasion, reckoning there would be near half a hundred persons present.

When we returned after dinner, from the river to the College, we were carried into the chapel, where Dr. Middleton, who was then Principal (and had been Dean of that diocese in the Episcopal times,) in a most respectful manner officiated, in conferring on me the degree of D. D.* Professor Cumin, (who bore me company from Edinburgh) at the same time took the Degree of Doctor of Laws. After viewing the library, which is not very large†, but lately im-

* See *Appendix*, No. 3.

† "The most remarkable things are, John Trevisa's translation

proved by Dr. Fraser, who has lived so long, and is so well known, in England, having a place many years in Chelsea College, we adjourned to our inn, where there was an handsome supper provided, with which the gentlemen seemed well pleased.

The next morning, after thanks returned for all civilities received, we returned to New Aberdeen, which is a well-built town, and has a pretty trade, both for salmon,* and the finest knit worsted stockings any where to be met with.† I heard of some of five guineas a pair, the beauty of which is best seen through glasses. Those of two guineas a pair were very common. We there waited upon the Provost, at his desire, and received burgess tickets, which were got ready for us; were treated very civilly, and at length left the town, the inhabitants of which

of Higden's *Polychronicon*, in 1387; the MS. excellently wrote, and the language very good for that time; a very neat Dutch missal, with elegant paintings on the margin; another, of the Angels appearing to the Shepherds, with one of the men playing on the bagpipes." *Pennant*, p. 122.—Ed.

* In 1769, "forty-six boats" were employed, and "in some years 167,000lbs. of fish sent pickled to London," besides exportations to "France, Italy," &c. *Ibid.* p. 118.—Ed.

† In 1769, it was computed, that for this manufacture, wool to the amount of "20,800*l.*" was "annually imported," and "oil, 1600*l.*" Whence were "made 69,333 dozen pairs of stockings, worth at an average, 30*s.* per dozen," besides "2000*l.* value of stockings manufactured from the wool of the country." The amount "annually paid" for spinning and knitting was computed at "62,329*l.* 14*s.*" *Ibid.* p. 118.—Ed.

beheld us in quite another manner, than at our first entrance.

Some were pressing for our going yet farther north, into the shire of Murray, which, they say, is the finest country in all North Britain, having large woods of fir trees and plenty of provisions of all sorts. And it was moved, that we should go to Elgin, where may be seen the ruins of a cathedral,* that for magnificence, and fine architecture, was scarce exceeded by any in Europe; and to Inverness, the people of which town are said to be very polite, and to express themselves in better language than they commonly do at Edinburgh.

But we were generally inclined, by this time, to look homeward, the rather, because our horses were hard put to it. Though we could get as many oats as we desired, there was no hay to be had, upon any terms; and our beasts could not, like those of that country, take up with straw. This had lost us two horses in our company already; and, had we continued much longer, might, in all probability, have carried off the rest. We, therefore, determined to return, and went back again to Montrose, and so by Brechin and Ochterhouse, to Perth.

At a good distance from Perth, I sent my servant before, to find out Mr. Austin, who lived a few miles

* "Founded, 1204;" now presenting most "awful fragments, mixed with the battered monuments of knights and prelates. Boethius says, that Duncan, killed by Macbeth at Inverness, lies buried here." *Pennant*, p. 135.—Ed.

from the town, a little out from the road. This Mr. Austin, who was a Member for North Britain, in the first British Parliament,* was a gentleman I had been well acquainted with at Westminster, and I had promised, that, if I ever came into North Britain, I would do my endeavour to make him a visit. I ordered my servant, therefore, to let him know that I was coming, according to my promise, but brought a little troop with me, by which he would be in danger of being devoured. My servant, after some time, met us on the road. He had inquired out Mr. Austin's, but he and all his family were at Perth, and to continue there some days; and he was informed, there was so much company at that time in Perth, alias St. Johnstown, (it being Quarter-sessions, and there being a good number of soldiers quartered there with their officers,) that we should find it a hard matter to get any place to lodge in.

Hereupon, I sent him away to Perth directly, ordering him to get there with what speed he conveniently could, and find out Mr. Austin, and let him know, that though he had left his home, yet I was coming after him to Perth, where I should throw myself and all my company upon his generosity for a night's lodging. I let him know that we should ride on very gently after, and I should expect to see him, as I came out of the ferry-boat, (for in the road that we were in, we had a broad river to cross, be-

* For "the Burghs of Forfar, Perth, Dundee, Coupar, and St. Andrews."—Ed.

fore we came to the town,) that I might know what Mr. Austin said.

He got there above an hour before us, and upon our landing, told me, that Mr. Austin was at the Sessions-house, where there was no getting at him. The town was so exceeding full of company, that, as far as he could perceive, there was no getting lodgings upon any terms. "What, then," said I, "must this be the fruit of coming to see Mr. Austin, that I, and all my company, must lie in the street all night? That would be hard indeed!" He told me, he hoped better things; and that he had set his horse at a public house not far off, which seemed to be as good of the kind as any in town. The master of it was very civil, and seemed to be concerned that he could not accommodate us strangers; but did assure him that his house was so full of company that he had not so much as one spare bed. But he offered that we might set our horses with him, till we were, some how or other, provided for.

To this house, therefore we went, and I made inquiry for the master of it, who was indeed very civil, and offered to do any thing he was capable of, to serve us. I told him I had but one request to him, that he would bring my servant to the speech of Mr. Austin, who, I did not at all doubt, would take care of us. This he undertook, and made his promise good. He conducted my servant to the Sessions-house, and got admittance for him

to Mr. Austin, who knew him as soon as he saw him, and cried out, "What, Robin! Is thy master come now? he could not have come at a worse time. But go back to him, and bid him not to be uneasy; for in a quarter of an hour's time, I'll be with him and take care of him and all his company." This news was a real cordial to us all.

In a little time Mr. Austin came, and, as soon as he saw me, burst out a laughing, saying, that if I had studied ever so long, I could hardly have contrived to have found him at such a disadvantage, as in the present hurry, but he would take care of us. Then, after salutations passed, he called the master of the house into the room, and asked him who lay in such a room? He told him, it was Sir John such-an-one. "Pray," says he, "give my service to Sir John, and tell him that he can easily accommodate himself among his relations, and I shall take it as a favour that he would do it, to make room for some friends of mine, come from England, that would else be in danger of being destitute; and Sir," said he, turning to me, "that room shall be yours." And so he went on, inquiring after the persons that possessed the several chambers, and sending his service to them by the master of the house, till he had provided for all my company; and I could not understand that any one of the parties concerned, made the least difficulty of complying with Mr. Austin's motion.

Then he told us, he must desire us to dispense with his absence for a little while, he having some business to dispatch; but he would be with us as soon as he could, with any conveniency. He left us very easy, being so well provided for, and having so comfortable a prospect. At length, I was talking with my landlord about getting something for our supper. But he told me he had received orders already about a supper, and we should be well provided for, and have good company too; and he desired us to walk up-stairs. We were carried into a spacious dining-room, where there was a cloth laid and napkins and plates for fifty people.

After some time, Mr. Austin came to us, attended by Mr. Black the minister, and the magistrates of the town, who were for taking the opportunity of making us free of the city, that night, and presented us with burgess tickets, because the next day there was to be a fast by way of preparation for the sacrament, on the Lord's day following. We afterwards had a very handsome supper, and were very well lodged, which we could not but think a very comfortable exchange, from the danger we seemed to be in of lying in the streets.

I would very willingly have spent a Lord's day at Perth, and have taken that opportunity of being at one of their communions; but, as things now stood with me, it would have broken all my measures. Therefore, we set out the next morning for Stirling,

stopping, by the way, at the house of Kinross,* a good old house and very convenient. We there saw Lochleven, noted for its good fish, in the midst of which stands an old castle,† to which Mary Queen of Scots was sent prisoner,‡ by Act of Parliament, as being concerned in the murder of her husband. From thence we went for Stirling, a very handsome town, and manifestly one of the keys of the country, because of its commanding a passage over the Forth. Here is a stately stone bridge, of four large arches, with an iron gate in the middle. Ships come up to the bridge at a full tide, but the haven lies a little below it. The castle is strong both by art and nature. Here it was that James VI. was baptized, and they tell mighty stories of the vast preparations made for that solemnity.§ We were very civilly treated, both by the minister and the provost, and presented with burgess tickets.

After a day's stay, we went for Glasgow, another of the universities of North Britain, and as pleasant

* "Built by the famous architect Sir William Bruce, for his own residence, and was the first good house in North Britain." *Pennant*, p. 66.—Ed.

† See *Pennant*, pp. 66, 67; and the extraordinary siege and defence of this castle in 1335. *Additions*, (1774) p. 7.—Ed.

‡ In 1567. See *Robertson*, b. v.—Ed.

§ See Miss Aikin's "Life of James I." for the ceremonial. "The Queen of England," says Camden, "being requested to be godmother, she sent the Earl of Bedford with a font of gold for a present." *Annals*, (1675) p. 87.—Ed.

a place as any I have seen in our King's dominions. This city is well built. The four principal streets cross one another, and divide it into four equal parts, each adorned with public buildings. The College is a good building, and so is the Tolbooth or town-house. It has a lofty tower, with melodious bells, which chime every two hours. The chief church is very large, and of the Gothic sort. The church-yard has as many odd epitaphs in it as one shall commonly meet with. The College Library has a good collection of books and some manuscripts. Among the rest there is a second volume of Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland. In it are, also, preserved several stones (with Latin incriptions)* taken out of the old Roman wall in the neighbourhood; and kept in very good order. This city is, generally, reckoned to have gained most by the Union. Its traffic is much advanced, and its wealth increased, by reason of its standing so well for the West India and Plantation trade.

Spending a Lord's day here, I, being desired, preached in the new church, to as fine an auditory as I have seen. The church is built in the Roman form, like the theatre at Oxford, without pillars; so that every one may see the pulpit, and all hear commodiously, without any occasion for the minister's straining his voice. On the left hand of the pulpit,

* See several of these stones and their inscriptions explained in Mr. Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 50, &c.—C.

were divers of the nobility that lived in or near the city; on the right hand, the Masters and scholars of the university, with their beadles in their formalities. Right before, sat the magistrates, in great state and order. The rest of the pews, both above and below, were filled with citizens and strangers. I preached from *St. Luke*, xvi. 31. "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead."* Here it is their custom to preach in gowns.

I observed that, as when I preached at the new Kirk in Edinburgh, I was followed in the afternoon by Mr. M'Cragan, who came over thither from the North of Ireland to visit his friends; so was I also at Glasgow. I here also conversed with blind Mr. Jameson who wrote "Cyprianus Isotimus" in answer to Mr. Sage's "Principles of the Cyprianic Age," and his vindication of it. He wrote also several other pieces, but was now grown old, and just worn out. Mess-John† Pedigrue, I found terribly afraid of the consequences of the Union.

Principal Stirling was, (as before intimated) my very good friend, and seemed, from my first appearing there, to study to express his respect, in all ways

* I printed that Discourse in a volume of Sermons, published in 1710, upon "the Inspiration of the holy writings of the Old and New Testament," (pp. 270—290,) though I must own not above a third part of what was printed was at this time delivered from the pulpit, because I was willing to confine myself to their usual time.—C.

† A name given to the Chaplains. See *infra*, p. 217.—Ed.

possible, in his own house and in all company. He introduced me to several persons of distinction, brought me to great freedom with the Masters, and at last would oblige me a third time to receive a Doctor's Degree, which he did in such a way as that I could not have demurred upon accepting it, without manifest rudeness, and gave me my Diploma in a silver box.*

They were also pleased to send a Diploma for a Doctor's Degree, at the same time, in a silver box, to Mr. Daniel Williams of London,† by Mr. George Smith, who, having pursued his studies for some years in that university, was now about leaving it, and returning home with us.

After so many civilities shown, the gentlemen of the college, instead of receiving a treat from me, in token of my gratitude, would needs invite me to an entertainment, and a noble one it was. I never drank better French Claret, than upon that occasion. All that I was able to prevail for was, that, spending a few hours with me in the evening, before I left them, they would eat a cold fowl, and ham and tongues with me, to relish a glass of wine the better. I had also many civilities from the magistrates, and, among others, was presented with a burgess ticket.

The Masters of the College were so complaisant as, most of them, to accompany me out of town as far as Hamilton. In our way, we went over Bothwell

* See *Appendix*, No. 4.

† See "Complete History of Europe," 1709, p. 163.—C.

Bridge, where the Duke of Monmouth routed them that appeared in arms, in King Charles's time.* When we came to Hamilton, Principal Stirling sent his servant to the palace, to wait on the old Duchess, with his humble duty to her Grace, and to let her know, that such persons were there, and desired her Grace's leave to see the palace, at a time convenient. The servant brought back word, that her Grace expected the Principal and me to come and dine with her; and if the rest would come after dinner, they should have liberty of seeing what was to be seen.

Hereupon we two went together, to the Duchess, after we had made a short visit to Mr. Wily (who was still full of fears of the sad consequences of the Union,† which he knew not how to shake off,) and were had up into her chamber. After receiving us in a most respectful manner, she soon fell into discourse about the late Assembly, and their proceedings, and particularly about the affair of my Lord

* In 1679. This rising, against the misrule of a profligate and tyrannical Stuart, being unsuccessful, was called "the Rebellion at Bothwell," on which it has been justly remarked "that the unrighteousness of a cause is not to be concluded, because it is not always successful.

"It is plain, those people rose in defence of their religion and liberties. A better cause could not be engaged in, and yet they were defeated. Had they been successful, so as to have restored the civil and religious liberties of their own country, all good men would have honoured their memory. As it was, they deserved to be had in great reputation." See Crookshank's "Church of Scotland," ii. 43.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 163.—Ed.

Selkirk with respect to the minister that was sent by the Presbytery, to the parish of Crawford John.* She was pleased particularly to compliment me, with her thanks for my endeavours to keep some younger ministers, that had more zeal and heat than judgment and experience, from being so rigorous in pushing that matter to extremity. I told her Grace, I was heartily sorry I had no better success, though I was not without hope the matter might yet be accommodated. But I was abundantly convinced it was very far from being the interest of the Church of Scotland, for their Judicatories either to slight or irritate their great men, who showed a disposition, if they were but well used, to afford them countenance and protection.

It was not long before the bell rang for prayers. Principal Stirling took me aside, and told me it would be expected from me that I should officiate as chaplain. I told him, I thought it much more proper for him, he being so well acquainted in the family, where I was an utter stranger. But he told me it was always their way in those parts, for strangers to be put upon such offices. I submitted, and read a chapter, and put up a prayer for about a quarter of an hour, and then concluded with the Lord's Prayer. The Duchess thanked me, and fell afterwards into discourse about the Dissenters in South Britain, the Union, and the difficulty of getting many of their ministers to take the oath to the Government in the words prescribed. At length the bell rang for

* See *supra*, p. 153.—Ed.

dinner, which was managed with state and grandeur, and was very handsome and well dressed. After dinner, the rest of our company came, and we saw the house, which has something in it grand, though unfinished. The entrance is noble, and the frontispiece, on the east, of curious architecture. There is a park adjoining, seven miles round, well stocked with deer, and has abundance of timber trees.

Taking leave of the Duchess,* we went to our inn, where returning abundant thanks to the Principal, and the Masters, we, that were now going for South Britain, mounted our horses, and went forward towards that which they commonly call the Western Road, which is by the way of Carlisle. We got that afternoon to Douglas, and lodged in the parish of Crawfurd, where we had a very honest pious landlord, with whom I had a great deal of discourse. From thence we went the next morning to Drumlanrig, belonging to the Duke of Queensbury. The house is plain, but the gardens are fine, considering how far they lie towards the north. There is one sloping bank (though a pretty large one) which, they told us, cost upwards of 1,000*l.* sterling. From thence we went to Dumfries, a large town, good buildings in it, and a considerable trade. But, intending to be going early the next morning, we had not time to call either upon magistrates or ministers. The next day, through a pretty difficult way, in which we were often forced to be making inquiry, we made a shift to get to Carlisle,

* Who died, 1717, aged eighty-six.—C.

after having spent about five weeks in North Britain.

As we every where met with great civility, which we have reason thankfully to own, so was it our common sense and apprehension, that those of North Britain, speaking generally, are much more civil to strangers than we in the South. Nor could we help making other remarks, as the course of our conversation lay. If they have not among them in North Britain many scholars of the first rank, they yet have many of a middle size, who have a competent share of knowledge, and are well furnished, for their proper offices, in their several stations. They improve considerably by being sent abroad, and have opportunities given them to see the world; for which they have prudently provided by the support of a number that are students of Divinity, to whom this course is mighty advantageous.

As for the children of their families of distinction, they are commonly sent abroad for education very young; by which they are, many ways, exposed; and, it is to be feared, that this, in time, may prove to have bad consequences. Were but care taken to encourage some learned foreigners to come amongst them, and to have suitable masters, to teach to ride the great horse, and other exercises proper for persons of quality; and were the children of their nobility and gentry kept and trained up in their own colleges at home; not going abroad, till they came towards manhood, they would then see the

world more to advantage, and be more likely to be useful at home afterwards than going abroad so early as is now common.

They have too many small bursaries in their Colleges, which are temptations to the inhabitants to breed up for the ministry more than they are able to support and provide for, when they have gone through the course of their education. They treat their chaplains but indifferently, and the poor Mess-Johns* are so kept down in several wealthy families, that they

* Chaplains. See *supra*, p. 211. The treatment of these divines, in the Church of England, was a subject, noticed with no small severity of censure, in the periodicals of this time.

Addison makes "a chaplain to an honourable family" say: "for not offering to rise at the second course, I found my patron and his lady very sullen and out of humour." Again, "as I still continued to sit out the last course, I was yesterday informed by the butler, that his lordship had no farther occasion for my service." *Tatler*, No. 255.

An Annotator (1786) adds: "Dr. Geekie was chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, and provoked him so highly, by continuing to sit at the desert after repeated hints and marks of displeasure, that the Duke would not speak to him.

"A few years ago, suppose twenty or thirty, the Archbishop of Canterbury gave an annual dinner, on St. Stephen's day, to the Privy Council, when the chaplain came in, and said grace, and retired immediately, till wanted to bless after dinner: a provoking indignity, as coming from one of the same order, who might say grace himself." See "Tatler with Notes," (1786) vi. 319, 320.

Mr. Noble has recorded the follies of this "proud Duke of Somerset," who died 1748. See "Biog. Hist." (1806) ii. 27—30. The Archbishop was, most probably, Secker, who enjoyed

hardly dare venture to say their souls are their own. This makes several of them come abroad and seek a subsistence in other parts, where, for want of ac-

the primacy from 1758 to 1768. He had been educated, partly by the kind patronage of Dr. Watts, in a Dissenting Academy, whose accomplished tutor was summarily noticed by the Archbishop's biographer, Bishop Porteus, as "one Mr. Jones, who kept an academy at Gloucester." See Dr. Gibbons's "Mem. of Watts," (1780) pp. 346–352; "Gent. Mag." (1784) liv. 84; "Monthly Repos." (1821) xvii. 270, 271.

The Archbishop only continued an earlier custom. Oldham, who died in 1683, addressing "a friend about to leave the University," thus warns him :—

"Diet, an horse, and thirty pounds a-year,
Besides the advantage of his lordship's ear,
The credit of the business, and the state,
Are things that in a youngster's sense sound great.
Little the unexperienced wretch does know
What slavery he oft must undergo :
Who, though in silken scarf, and cassock drest,
Wears but a gayer livery at best.
When dinner calls, the implement must wait,
With holy words to consecrate the meat,
But hold it for a favour seldom known,
If he be deign'd the honour to sit down."

"The Guardian" (1713, No. 163) makes a correspondent say : "I have had the honour, many years of being chaplain to a noble family, and of being counted the highest servant in the house, either out of respect to my cloth, or because I lie in the uppermost garret.

"Now my young Lord is come to the estate, I find I am looked upon, as a *censor morum*, and suffered to retire constantly, with 'prosperity to the Church' in my mouth. I have, with much ado, maintained my post hitherto at the desert, and every day eat tart in the face of my patron ; but the servants begin

quaintance, friends, and interest, they are oft exposed. As for the settled ministers of the Church of Scotland, though they are not so plentifully or profusely provided for, as many of the Established Church, in England, yet are there none but what have a competency, whereupon to live easily, and conveniently, and above contempt.

It is a very frequent subject of inquiry in conversation, what North Britain has gained by the Union, and what it has lost, and sentiments are pretty much divided. To me, it is very plain and evident, that by this Union the Scots have their religion and liberty secured, and a deliverance from the Jacobites, whose attempts could not possibly have been defeated, or their hopes extinguished, had it not taken place. And it is to be hoped, and may reasonably be expected, that their gain will be more visible and sensible, an hundred years hence than at present.

Carlisle, (which we came to, when we had passed through North Britain) was, in ancient times, a Roman garrison, and a frontier against the Scots, who were inveterate enemies of the old Britons. It is a small city, but very pleasantly situated. Not

to brush very familiarly by me, and thrust aside my chair when they set the sweetmeats on the table."

I remember a question started, by some writer, at that time, whether the chaplain should sit "above or below the salt," referring, I believe, to a custom observed at the long table in baronial halls, where the salt divided the yeomanry from the nobility and gentry, and distinguished the quality of their entertainment; especially the potations.—Ed.

finding any thing to be seen here very curious, we only stayed to refresh ourselves, and went forward. But, instead of taking the direct road for London, which goes through Penrith, we turned off to the right, and went to Cockermouth and Whitehaven, to accompany Mr. Dixon home, who had so kindly accompanied us in our journey through North Britain

Whitehaven is a sea-port, with a Custom-house, and a considerable trading town, that, in a degree like Liverpool, has much increased in traffic and wealth since the Revolution, and the war that followed. There we spent a Lord's day; and on the Monday morning went for Kendal, a considerable town in Westmoreland. In the way, we passed over two very high mountains, called Hardknot and Wry Nose, on the top of both which we could discern a number of clouds a good way under us, beating against the mountains and sometimes breaking in pieces. At the top of Wry Nose we came to "three stones, commonly called Shire Stones, lying within a foot one of another, yet in three several counties; one in Cumberland, another in Westmoreland, and the third in Lancashire."*

We were forced to carry some provisions with us over these mountains, being told beforehand that when we came to the other side, though we might have good drink, yet we should meet with nothing we could eat; their bread being exceeding black, coarse, and harsh. When we came there, we ac-

* *Magna Brit.* (1720) i. 397.—Ed.

tually found it so. Though the air, as we crossed over the mountains, had sharpened our appetites, we all concluded we must have been forced to fast, if we had not had provisions of our own. In our way, afterwards, to Kendal, we went just by Winandermere, so famous for the fish called charrs, which come potted to London, and are reckoned so very delicious. Kendal is a large populous town, noted for a woollen manufacture.* We went from thence to Burton, and so to Lancaster, a pretty town with a castle (made use of, as a prison) standing very pleasantly. From thence we went to Preston, a very pretty town, with abundance of gentry in it, commonly called Proud Preston: but I must own we there met with a great deal of civility.

Being upon the fine walk, without that town, we could see Houghton Tower, and many other places, all the country round. Sitting down on the bench, at the upper end of the walk, I was saying, that was a pleasant place for a pipe of tobacco and a glass of October. A lady that overheard me, (who by the way, I was afterwards informed, was a great tory) immediately sent her footman home, to fetch both, without giving us the least hint of her design. But when, after a little time, we talked of moving, the lady very civilly asked us whether we would not stay till the pipes and drink came, which she had sent for, and she doubted not would be brought, in a little time. Upon this hint, we thought ourselves

* "Lanificii gloria et industria præcellens," according to Camden. See Pennant's *Additions*, p. 48.—Ed.

in civility bound to stay, and the servant quickly returned. After some time, returning the ladies thanks for their obliging carriage to strangers, we returned into the town.

This place is remarkable for the defeat of Duke Hamilton, in 1648, when he rose in arms to rescue King Charles I. out of prison; and also for the defeat of the Scotch and English rebels against King George I. in 1716, by the forces commanded by Lord Carpenter, and Lieutenant-General Wills. Many of these rebels suffered afterwards, especially of those who lived in and about Preston, for discovering so hearty a good-will to the cause in which those wretches* were engaged.

From Preston, we went to Wigan, and so to Manchester, where we spent the last Lord's day in our journey. I preached in their spacious and fine chapel, afterwards pulled down and demolished by the rebels in the reign of King George I. This exceeds all the towns of that county, in buildings, populousness, trade, and wealth, and has a college in it, with a warden and four fellows.†

* This violation of the generous maxim, *parcere subjectis*, was an unworthy triumph of the successful over the fallen. "Those wretches" had perished, only for maintaining, in numerous instances, with a courage (see Gen. Wightman, *infra*) worthy of a nobler object, the absurd, and but partially exploded doctrine of hereditary right, "the enormous faith of many made for one." See Dr. Calamy's testimony to the comparative "strength of parties," *supra*, p. 2.—Ed.

† *Magn. Brit.* ii. 1275.—Ed.

Thence, we came by Holmes Chapel, Newcastle-under-Line, Litchfield and Coventry, Daventry, Towcester, Stony Stratford, and Dunstable, (where some friends came to meet us, as more did, the next day, at Barnet) to London, after we had been about nine weeks absent; and had a great deal of reason to be very thankful, that, after riding over so much ground as we had done in so little time, and passing through so many changes, we should by a kind Providence be brought back again in health and safety. I could not help thinking it remarkable, that whereas (having beforehand committed to black and white the whole route I intended to take while absent) I had desired my wife to write every post, (that I might, as speedily as could be, know of any thing that made my return expedient) and given directions how my letters should be addressed from one post to another, they came all safe to hand except two, sent, when I was gone towards the North, to Aberdeen.

1709. Dec. 13. The Commons, after some debates, resolved, "that the sermon preached by Dr. Sacheverell, at the assizes at Derby, August 15 last, and the sermon preached by him at St. Paul's, November 5, were malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels." He was "impeached at the bar of the Lords of high crimes and misdemeanours." *

It was, I well remember, a great question at that time with many, whether it was prudent to make so

* *Chron. Hist.* i. 365.—Ed.

great a stir about a man of so worthless a character; such "an inconsiderable tool of a party"* as Lieutenant-General Stanhope called him at his trial. A member of the House of Commons, that had sat long there, and knew the world well, told me in private conversation, on the very morning of the day in which his impeachment was resolved on in the House, that we had not integrity enough left among us, to carry us steadily through an affair of that nature. It plainly enough appeared, in the sequel, that the enemies of those at that time in the ministry, laid the bait to bring matters up to an impeachment, on purpose that they might gain the point at which they had long been driving, viz. to embroil the ministry with the Church; at which gap they broke in, and supplanted them with the Queen. Yet, after all, upon looking back, we have this to satisfy us, that by means of this Doctor's trial, our Constitution was (as appears by the printed trial) asserted by our whole legislature, in opposition to slavish maxims and principles,† which was most certainly some advantage.

* See "An impartial Account of what passed relating to the case of Dr. Sacheverell," (1710) p. 112.—Ed.

† Thus Lieut.-General Stanhope, (just mentioned) one of the managers for the Commons, argued with a manly freedom, which honourably descended, and is still happily descending with the name:

"That your Lordships have rights, nobody will presume to deny; that the Commons have rights, nobody will deny; that every subject of Britain has rights, nobody will deny. Now to

Mr. Benjamin Hoadly's merits being at this time

say, that when a Prince shall invade all these rights at once, the whole collective body of the nation has no way to vindicate those rights is so inconsistent, so contrary to reason, that it is to be wondered it could ever enter into the mind of man.

"I might, from many passages out of Fortescue, (*De Laudibus legis Angliæ*) and Hooker, evince beyond contradiction, that the Constitution of England is founded upon compact; and that the subjects of this kingdom have, in their several public and private capacities, as legal a title to what are their rights by law, as a Prince to the possession of his crown." See "Impartial Account," p. 108.

On this occasion, Bishop Burnet, in his speech to the Lords, refers to "Trajan, famed for that memorable expression when he delivered the sword to the governors of the provinces, *pro me: si mercar, in me;* for me; but, if I deserve it, against me." The Bishop adds,

"These words were put on King James the First's coin in Scotland. It is true, that was during his minority;" (perhaps on the suggestion of Buchanan) "but when he afterwards changed his motto, the coin was not called in, but continued current till the Union." See "Bishop of Salisbury's Speech," (1710) p. 4.

It cannot, however, be reasonably disputed, that by appealing to the Fathers, and the Liturgic forms of the Church of England, and especially to the Homelies, declared to contain "a godly and wholesome doctrine," the counsel for Sacheverel, procured for him, in argument, a triumphant defence. Tillotson's letter to Lord Russel was adduced in evidence, and some servile courtly passages from sermons by Burnet. See "Impartial Account," pp. 178–287.

In the debate on "the Catholic petition," 1805, Fox says, "granting the Thirty-nine Articles to be not repugnant to the free principles of the Constitution, yet the homilies which follow are by many stated to be an absolute condemnation of the very

taken into consideration,* it was resolved,† that he, having often "strenuously justified the principles on which her Majesty and the nation proceeded, at the Revolution, had justly merited the recommendation and favour of that House; and that an humble address be presented to her Majesty, that she would be pleased to bestow some dignity in the Church upon him, for his eminent service to Church and State." But, though he was caressed and promised fair, yet was he not advanced to a bishoprick, till the succeeding reign of King George.

November 23. Died William Bentinck, Earl of Portland, great favourite of King William III.‡ and

thing which took place at the time of the Revolution. Nay, did not Sacheverel openly attack, and, upon the authority of these homilies, stigmatize that proceeding, as impious, and utterly destructive of the Church of England?" See "Impartial Detail," &c. (1805) p. 166.—Ed.

* He had published two books a little before, the one entitled "Some Considerations humbly offered to the Lord Bishop of Exeter, occasioned by his Lordship's sermon preached before her Majesty, March 8, 1708." The other entitled "An humble Reply to the Lord Bishop of Exeter's Answer; in which the considerations lately offered to his Lordship are vindicated, and an Apology is added, for defending the foundation of the present Government."—C.

† Jan. 2, 1709–10. *Chron. Hist.* i. 365.—Ed.

‡ Among King William's favourite courtiers, who had fattened on the desolation of Ireland, it appeared, by an uncourtly enquiry of "the Commons," that, in 1699, "135,820 acres, had been granted to the Earl of Portland." *Chron. Hist.* i. 298. See vol. i. p. 415 *note*.—Ed.

chief manager of the peace concluded at Ryswick, anno 1697.

Several thousands of the poor Palatines came this year into Britain, and were relieved by a public brief. A good sum of money was raised, which was carefully distributed by commissioners,* at which many grumbled and were much dissatisfied. Five hundred families of them were sent to Ireland, many to Carolina, and other parts, and a number went back into their own country.

This year,† the King of Sweden was defeated by the Muscovites, at the battle of Pultowa. His whole army was either killed or taken prisoners, and he himself was forced to fly into Turkey for shelter.‡

CHAPTER VIII.

1710—1714.

Farther Hints both of Public and Private Matters, in the remaining Years of the Reign of Queen Anne.

THE trial of Dr. Sacheverel was depending, when this year began. He was, from day to day, attended

* See *supra*, p. 42 *note*.—ED.

† July 8.—ED.

‡ "Le Commandant de Bender envoya, en hâte, un Aga, complimenter le Roi, et lui offrir une tente magnifique, avec les provisions, le baggage, les chariots, les commodités, les officiers, toute sa suite necessaire pour lui conduire avec splendeur jusqu'à Bender; car tel est l'usage des Turcs." *Voltaire*, i. 196.—ED.

to Westminster Hall by a most furious and insolent mob. All that passed along were compelled to pull off their hats. Some time after, Mr. Daniel Burgess's meeting-house was gutted, and the pulpit, pews, and wainscot burnt in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, the populace all the while huzzaing and crying out, "High Church and Sacheverel!"* Several other meeting-houses were pillaged, and some considerably damaged. The houses also of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharton, Bishop of Sarum, Mr. Dolben, and Mr. Hoadley were threatened. Had not a detachment of Guards been sent into the City, under the command of Colonel Horsey, (who told me he ventured his neck by going upon verbal orders, without any thing in writing, to warrant his march, till the work was over) in order to the securing the Bank, &c., there is no knowing what mischief might have been done.

Though the Doctor was cast, yet (to please the Queen) his sentence was moderated. When he had got his liberty, he took a tour through the country, in a sort of triumph, to receive the homage of the mob. As a reward for his great hardships and sufferings, he was at length promoted to the living of St. Andrews, Holborn, at that time one of the greatest parochial cures in the Christian world. The tumults, in several parts of the nation, upon this occasion, had a great influence on the elections for the new Parliament, which in many places was

* See "Complete Hist. of Europe," for 1709, p. 358.—C.

chosen with such violence and fury, that it might be called "the Parliament of Sacheverel and the mob."

Addresses came in from many parts of the nation, but there was the hand of Joab in them. They were designed to procure a new Parliament, and an alteration of the ministry. In August, an artful address was presented by the Bishop and Clergy of London. Such as were against it, were represented as enemies to the Queen and her ministry. But Dr. Barton and Mr. Baker refused to sign it; and Dr. Kennet, Dr. Bradford, Dr. Hancock, and Mr. Hoadly, refused to answer the Bishop's summons. These addresses were followed with counter addresses.

Our forces in Spain, with General Stanhope at their head, obtained a considerable victory near Almenara, on July 27, N. S. and on August 27, following, gave the Spaniards a yet more surprising defeat near Saragossa.* The French King was so thunderstruck with this defeat of his grandson, that when he received the first account, he betrayed more weakness than he had done upon the news of the fatal battles of Hockstet and Ramilies; and retired into his closet, where he continued for some hours, without admitting any one of his ministers or courtiers to converse with him.

* We took all their cannon, and most of their colours; so that out of 40 battalions, not above 4,000 men escaped; and out of 60 squadrons, about the like number, the rest being killed or taken prisoners.—C.

At length, what our enemy could not do for himself, we out of an excess of good-humour, set ourselves upon doing for him. Mr. Harley got the Queen's ear by means of Mrs. Hill.* August 8, the Lord Treasurer was turned out, and Commissioners placed in his room, and Mr. Harley, was made Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer. The dismission of this great minister, the Lord Treasurer, without the favour of an hearing, M. Mesnager† calls "the *coup de grace;* and with him," he says, "fell the administration of the Whigs for that reign."

Nor did the Treasurer fall alone. No sooner was he turned out, than the Whigs at Court gave him a meeting, and engaged to one another, that they would, one and all stand, hard and fast together, and accept of no proposals that contained any thing less than the restoring them all. Hereupon many alterations were made. The Earl of Rochester, the Queen's uncle, was declared Lord President of the Council, than which, M. Mesnager very frankly owns, "no news could be more welcome to the Court of France."‡ He adds, that "from the introduction of this one person, the French King had a full satisfaction, and often declared it, that not only the great point of ending the war would be obtained, but that he should one time or other have as effectual an influence on

* See *supra*, p. 101.—Ed.

† "Minutes of Negociation in the Court of England," p. 58. —C.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 78–79.—C.

the affairs of Britain as ever, and by consequence be in a condition to restore the banished Chevalier, by the consent of the British nation.

The Parliament met Nov. 25, and the Whigs found themselves surprisingly outnumbered in the Commons, who chose William Bromley, Esq. Speaker. The Queen recommended carrying on the war in all its parts, but particularly in Spain, with the utmost vigour. The Duke of Marlborough could now obtain no thanks in the Lords, notwithstanding he had as much deserved them as in former campaigns, yet continued in his place as general. Nay, the Queen was pleased to renew his commission, and make a disposition of the other generals entirely to his satisfaction. Yet his favour was but short-lived. He soon fell into disgrace, after all the honours that had been heaped upon him.

I, this year, (1710) printed "fourteen sermons preached at the Merchant's Lecture, at Salter's-hall," upon "the Inspiration of the Holy Writings of the Old and New Testament,"* and dedicated them to

* There had appeared (1690), "Five Letters, concerning the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, translated out of French;" and occasioned by "F. Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament," (noticed vol. i. p. 388.) in which he had maintained "the necessity of oral tradition." The author (Le Clerc) contended for a qualified, rather than a plenary inspiration, and sustained his opinion by references to Jerome, Erasmus, Grotius, Episcopius, and Baxter, ("Saint's Rest," part ii. ch. iii. sec. ii.") See "Five Letters." pp. 16, 20, 36, 47, 76, 79—89, 139—143, 202.

In answer

the Queen, having obtained her leave by the Earl of Sunderland. I, therein, told her Majesty, that

In answer to the "Five Letters" was published "A Vindication of the Divine Authority and Inspiration of the Writings of the Old and New Testament. By W. Lowth, Oxford, 1692." With this author (the learned Commentator, father of Bishop Lowth,) Dr. Calamy appears in these sermons to have coincided. He says, pp. 34—36;—

"The several penmen of the Holy Scriptures, made use of their natural abilities, and the Spirit supplied their defects." Hence, though "the poetical books of the Old Testament may seem to be the effects of study and meditation," (see "Five Letters,") they may "yet be inspired. The Holy Ghost used the sacred penmen as reasonable creatures, and made use of their judgments, memories, and affections. But they acted under his guidance in the whole of their work." Again:—

"It has been suggested by one (Le Clerc), that delights in starting difficulties about inspiration, that 'a man has no need of inspiration to relate faithfully what he has seen.' It is granted he has no need of it in writing a common history, but it is otherwise, when God intends to make use of a man, to draw up a part of the sacred history. The Divine Spirit, therefore, so directed our sacred penmen, as not to suffer them to miscarry, or let any dashes of their pen vary from truth, as Faustus Socinus (*De autor. sacr. Scrip.*) would insinuate, and Episcopius (*Disput. de autor. sacr. Scrip. Thes.* 3.) after him."

To reconcile undoubted discrepancies in various parts of the Bible, with the notion of a plenary inspiration, he deems it "but a requisite piece of modesty to suspect the failure may have been in copiers and transcribers rather than in the original writers." To the same purpose, Dr. Wall says:—

"The generality of learned and pious Christians, for a long time seem to have thought, that the Providence of God had interposed in a miraculous way to prevent any faults or mistakes

her "gracious acceptance of my endeavours in opposition to a late pretended inspiration, encouraged me to present" her with "this defence of the ancient but real inspiration of the Holy Writings." What I said was strictly true. For her Majesty's message to me by her Page of the Back-stairs,* upon my presenting her with my Sermons against the new prophets, was, as I told Lord Sunderland, the very thing that put the asking leave to prefix her name to these sermons into my thoughts.

What I added about the "steadiness of her

from coming into the copies of his word, in its original language, whatever might happen in translations.

"This must have been an extraordinary miracle, and such a thing as was never verified in the case of any book. Since, however infallibly directed the prophets, and first writers of the books were, it is plain that the transcribers were ordinary men, to whom no promise was ever given to preserve them, from mistakes, from carelessness, and from ignorant blunders."

This learned biblical critic adds, as if anticipating the researches of Kennicot, "since the various lections of the book of the New Testament, in its original language, have been collected from the best MS. and found to be so many; all men do now, I think, recede from the opinion, of the Hebrew books being free from any mistakes." See "Critical Notes on the Old Testament," (1734,) *Pref.* i. p. vi.

Neither of these pious and learned theologians appear to have allowed themselves to enquire into the probability of such a perpetual miraculous agency as a plenary inspiration, while they rejected every pretence to another not more "extraordinary miracle," by which "transcribers," through every age, might be "infallibly directed."—Ed.

* *Supra*, p. 100.—Ed.

councils, and fixing the balance of Europe, and confirming her subjects of all persuasions in a just esteem of the great blessing of moderation," happened to be timed but unhappily. Though hints of this nature would have been, generally, well approved a year or two before; yet, coming, when we were in great uncertainty and knew not what to trust to, after Sacheverel's mobs, and when her Majesty appeared bent upon changing her ministry and councils so much for the worse, in the opinion of such as were most heartily engaged in the interest of their country, the ywere disrelished, and my sermons, that had cost me not a little pains, were thereupon the less current.

When I waited on Lord Sunderland with a copy for her Majesty and another for himself, I found him in no small hurry, reckoning he was quitting the Secretary's office in a very little time. He seemed then rather to wish I had waved my dedication, though when he saw it first, he was much of another mind, and greatly approved my design, encouraged me in pursuing it, and asked leave for me. But I thought it too late to draw back, because it was printed off, and many books were bound. I expected neither preferment nor gratuity; and so was not liable to be, in that respect, disappointed.

I fear there was another person, (a worthy man) disappointed that way, by mistiming his present. M. Leydecker, one of the Professors of Theology at Utrecht, hearing of my freedom with Lord Sunder-

land, had sent over to me his second volume "De Republicâ Judæorum,"* in folio, very pompously dedicated to her Majesty, desiring me to put it into his Lordship's hands to present it, as he had promised. I carried this book to his lordship, at the same time with my own, and he undertook to deliver it. Not the least present following, the Professor did not seem well pleased,† but I could no way help it. They that have to do with courtiers, must be content to share in the fate of their patrons.

In the close of my volume, I added "a single sermon in vindication of the Divine Institution of the office of the Ministry,"‡ from *Eph.* iv. 10, 11, in which I considered the chief objections against it; and especially those offered in a celebrated book,

* "Recueil curieux, semé d'anecdotes, sur le Judaisme moderne. Il y a joint une refutation de *Archæologia* de Burnet." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* v. 265.—Ed.

† He had, probably, somewhat warmly manifested his disappointment; if justly described as "un homme dur et passionné, qui ne savoit réprimer ni sa langue, ni sa plume." *Ibid.* See vol. i. p. 167.—Ed.

‡ "When I plead for the office, as of divine institution, I suppose the right of the people to choose and determine who shall officiate as ministers among them. This is a right of the Christian Church I am very desirous to have kept inviolable.

"I add, that I am far from supposing the being of the Church to depend upon the ministry. Where ministers cannot be had, I do not imagine but God will accept people, if they do their best without them. All I aim at is, that the keeping up the ministry, as an office, was a Divine appointment, in order to the well-being of the Church." Pp. 394, 395.—Ed.

intitled, "The Rights of the Christian Church,"* which at that time made a great noise. This met with as general acceptance, as any sermon of mine in the delivery from the pulpit.

Nov. 1, died John Lord Haversham, for several years famous for his speeches in Parliament, in which he boldly laid open the faults and mismanagements of the ministry.

Mr. Hoadly published "The Original and Institution of Civil Government," discussed in an examination of the Patriarchal scheme of Government, as a second part subjoined to the "Measures of Submission;" together with "a Defence of Mr. Hooker's Judgment against the objections of several late writers." To which is added, "A large answer to Dr. F. Atterbury's charge of Rebellion." For so strenuously did the High Party now push upon Mr. Hoadly, that Dr. Atterbury, from the pulpit and the press, accused him of treating the body of the Established clergy with disdainful and reviling language, and charging them with rebellion in the Church, while he himself was a preacher of rebellion in the State.†

Dr. Atterbury was also, this year, unanimously chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation,‡ as was thought out of thankfulness for the honour he did them in magnifying their office, and

* See *supra*, p. 59.—Ed.

† See "Answer to Dr. Atterbury," p. 5.—C. *Biog. Brit.* i. 339.—Ed.

‡ *Ibid.*—Ed.

displaying the dignity of it, in a florid discourse before the Sons of the Clergy.

March 19, this year, died Dr. Thomas Ken,* the deprived Bishop of Bath and Wells, and was buried at Frome Selwood, in Somerset.

1711. Jan. 17, the Queen sent a licence to the Convocation, to enter upon business, for which they had long desired to have scope. On the 29th, she sent a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, with heads of matters she thought proper for their consideration.†

Some peculiar doctrines and pretensions were about this time industriously advanced; and made the distinguishing badges of a true churchman. Baptism, if administered by any not episcopally ordained, was represented in a variety of sermons and pamphlets, as utterly invalid and null.‡ Though the Archbishop and Bishops, in Convocation, agreed upon a censure of this rigour, yet a majority of the Lower House was not, by any means, to be pre-

* An. Ætat. 73. See a short Account of his Life by W. Hawkins, of the Middle Temple, Esq.—C.

† "The late excessive growth of infidelity and heresy; abuses in excommunications; how rural Deans might be made more effectual; how terriers might be made, and preserved more exactly; and how abuses in licences for marriage might be corrected. In this whole matter, neither the Archbishop nor any of the Bishops, were so much as consulted with." *Burnet*, ii. 569, 570.—Ed.

‡ See "Monthly Repos." (1819) xiv. 722.—Ed.

vailed with to concur,* for fear of offending those who by such an unchristian spirit confined the name of the Church to the very pinnacles. This was a casting out for heathens, many members of the Established Church at home, and the whole body of Protestants abroad, unless strictly and properly within the Episcopal pale, which was hard to be found among the Lutherans, at least in their opinion who were the spreaders of this doctrine, which appeared calculated for the Pretender and his cause. Thus, as it was expressed by Dean Kennet, in a Letter to Dr. Colman of Boston,† in New England, we were "in danger of losing Christianity in the name of the Church."‡

March 8, M. de Guiscard, a French Papist, apprehended for High Treason, and under examination before a Committee of the Privy Council at the Cockpit, stabbed Mr. Harley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a penknife, which he found in the room he was confined to, before being examined. Being wounded, in the resistance made by the attending officers, he died in prison. This made a great noise at that time. M. Mesnager declares this

* "The Upper House acknowledged the validity of lay-baptism, which the Lower House seemed to deny." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 18.—Ed.

† Of which he was "one of the ministers," and where he died 1747. He had "spent some time" in England. *Amer. An.* ii. 150.—Ed.

‡ See the Life of Bishop Kennet, p. 123.—C.

Guiscard to have been "a worthless miscreant;"* and that "his name is detestable, and his history not worth enquiring after." Mr. Harley's wound heightened the Queen's value for him.

April 3, the French King lost his only son the Dauphin. He died of the small pox at Meudon in the fiftieth year of his age; and his father took on extremely. It would be no easy thing to give this Prince his true character, because of his living upon the reserve, to prevent suspicion and jealousy. The Duke of Burgundy, upon his father's death, was immediately declared Dauphin of France; and he was the first grandson of France that was so.

Our House of Commons, the better to ingratiate themselves with the Church party, who complained of their having been sadly neglected, resolved that fifty new Churches were necessary within the bills of mortality. May 7, a sum of 350,000*l.* was granted for that purpose, which was a very popular thing.

About this time the South Sea Company was incorporated, in order to the better discharging the public debts.† This great project was contrived by Mr. Harley, who was soon after made Earl of Oxford, and Lord High Treasurer of Great Britain; Doctor Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, was made Lord Privy Seal.

In the latter end of June, the Duchess of Gordon,

* "Negociations," pp. 97, 98.—C.

† *Burnet*, ii. 573, "See Cato's Letters, No. 7.—Ed.

in North Britain, sent a silver medal of the Pretender to the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, to be laid up among their curiosities. After a warm debate, it was accepted, and thanks were voted to the Duchess. At the presenting of those thanks, Mr. Dundass told her Grace, that they were confident she would soon have an opportunity of presenting them with a second medal, upon the restoration of the King and Royal Family. This was very bold and barefaced; and M. de Kreyenbergh the Hanover resident, complained of it. Yet the Government did not think fit to notice it. The friends of the Pretender were indeed now bold and busy everywhere.

This summer our new Ministry, finding a peace necessary to the standing of their ground, entered upon a negotiation. It grew the common cry, that they had made a private and separate peace with France, several months before the preliminaries appeared; and that the Allies were betrayed, the public faith broken, the honour of treaties violated in the breaking the confederacy, and the grand alliance dissolved, &c. Count Gallas, the Emperor's Envoy, being active, free and bold, was forbid the Court, and withdrew out of England. M. Buys was sent hither from the Dutch, and in appearance well received.

November 19. A Committee of the Council agreed that the City of Utrecht should be the place of Congress, and that the Conferences should begin Jan. 1, o. s. The several Allies were accordingly invited

to send their respective Plenipotentiaries. During the negotiations, Thomas Harley, Esq., was sent thither upon secret service, to remove the difficulties between the British and French agents, and privately to clear up other matters relating to the Pretender. And Mr. Secretary St. John told the Lords' Plenipotentiaries, in a letter he wrote to them, that "they would be much better informed of the Queen's intentions, by what he had to say to them, than they could possibly be by ten reams of written instructions."*

Nov. 28, Baron Bothmar presented a Memorial to our Queen from the Elector of Hanover, on the Peace and its negotiation, and on the captiousness and obscurity of the preliminaries proposed. It was suggested, that this Memorial had more the air of an original written in English, than a translation from the French; and that it was framed in London, in concert with the leading gentlemen among the Whigs.

Books were now daily published and encouraged, containing reasons for putting an end to the war, and the letting the people into notions as if the former managers were guilty of carrying it on for their private glory and advantages.†

M. Mesnager, the French negotiator says, that getting the knowledge of a certain capable person,

* See Appendix to "Annals of King George," Year 2d., p. 37.—C.

† "Negot. of M. Mesnager," pp. 64, 65, &c.—C.

he, by means of a French printer, and the help of some money rightly placed, furnished arguments to set forth the strength of the French frontiers, the impossibility of finishing the war by taking one or two towns in a year, and the certain way of lengthening out the war by that method, till England should be impoverished, and its trade ruined. These and other such arguments, the person pitched on drew up in order, and cast into several forms, printing now one tract and then another, which answered the purpose of the French, and made a great noise at that time in London.

He also desired the same writer of pamphlets, to publish something to prove to the people, the reasonableness of pushing the war on in Spain rather than in Flanders. He also got another writer of that sort, who was recommended to him by the Swedish resident, who wrote a tract, intituled, "Reasons why this Nation" (meaning England) "ought to put an end to this expensive war," &c. Which piece was translated into French, printed in Flanders, and dispersed through the Low Countries, and at Paris.* He caused an hundred pistoles to be conveyed to the author as a compliment for that book, letting him know that it came from the hand of one, that was as able to treat him honourably, as he was sensible of his service.

Dec. 7, the Parliament met. The Queen, in her speech to the two Houses, told them, with the ap-

* "Negot. of M. Mesnager," pp. 106, 107, 108.—C.

pearance of no small pleasure, that "notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, both place and time were appointed for opening the Treaty of a general Peace."

The Dissenters appearing, universally, warm against it, the High Church Party were of opinion, that, by now showing them their power when they had the ascendant, they should render them less capable of crossing and opposing them, for time to come. At the same time the great men in the nation who thought nothing could be more destructive than such a Peace as that on foot, were of opinion it was better to give into any measures that offered, than not obstruct it as far as possible.

Lord Nottingham,* therefore, offering to fall in with the Whigs in opposing the Peace, if they would yield him the Occasional Bill, against the Dissenters, which he had been zealous for, as oft as it had been before proposed, they made a sacrifice of them by agreement, thinking a time might come to relieve them afterwards, without any hazard.

Dec. 15. Lord Nottingham, having joined with the Whig lords in opposing the Peace designed, brought into the House of Peers the bill against Occasional Conformity, which he before had stickled for in vain; and those lords fell in with him. Whether they were not herein overreached and outwitted; and whether the damage they, this way, did to the common interest, did not overbalance the

* See *supra*, p. 60.—Ed.

good they hereby did the nation, posterity must and will be judges.

The Dissenters had, indeed, some few concessions granted, to make the matter appear more plausible: but these were not to be compared with the contempt to which it exposed them. They were thereby marked out for a despicable sort of people; and such as would be capable of any places of profit or trust, must quit their religious assemblies after March 25, 1712. Such treatment was the more cutting to the Dissenters, because of the concurrence of those, who had all along professed a great regard for them, and to serve whom they had often exposed themselves.

They consulted much among themselves, and were as strenuous in applying to others as they well could be, to get this stroke averted, but to little purpose. The agreement was made, and there was no going back. It was the only way to prevent the Peace; and we should be relieved in another way: these were the most favourable answers we could obtain from such as we thought we might have expected the most from. It was God's great mercy that the nation was not ruined.

The Bill had a currency that was not common. Dec. 15, it came into the Lords' House, and in less than a week passed through both Houses, with little or no opposition, notwithstanding it was, at divers times before, opposed with so much vehemence and warmth. At length it passed into an

Act, though there was very little likelihood that step would strengthen the Union between England and Scotland, of which the Queen had so great a fondness. Nay, there was manifest danger that it would weaken it.

When the Bill passed,* (at which some greatly rejoiced, and others heartily mourned,) it became a question with some worthy persons, such as Sir Thomas Abney, and Sir John Fryer, aldermen of London, the Mayors of several Corporations, and some Justices of the Peace, in several counties in England, whether they should quit their places, and throw up their commissions, in order to the holding public communion with the Protestant Dissenters, in their worshipping assemblies, as they had done hitherto, or continue in their offices, confining themselves to that private family worship which the law still allowed. Upon mature consideration, backed with the pressing importunity of several persons of distinction in our own nation, joined with the solicitation of the Resident of Brunswick, who took pains to represent to them in the strongest manner, how far the interest of his master, and of the Hanover family depended upon their continuance in

* And with the account of this, my History of the Nonconformists ends, which I have added at the close of my Abridgment. This History I have since been desired by many to continue, and carry farther on: and it is in a great measure in compliance with that request, that I have added the account that follows.—C. See "Abridgment of Baxter," pp. 724,—726.—Ed.

the posts and stations they were in, (not without strong assurances at the same time of earnest endeavours for relief as to this and other hardships, whenever the Protestant succession should come to take place,) they were prevailed with to keep in their places, and content themselves for a time with that restrained way of worship the law allowed.*

* During this "restraint for seven years," Dr. Watts had preached to Sir Thomas Abney, and his family, in which he resided. Sir Thomas appears to have fully adopted the accommodating scheme of Mr. Howe, which De Foe has so ably exposed, (see Vol. i. pp. 464, 465.) Thus, "that he might be capable of serving his country, and securing the interest of King George," he allowed himself to afford the example of a magistrate, with no objections to public worship, entirely, so far as appears, neglecting it "for seven years."

Yet the doctrine of the Established Church he, no doubt, believed; of her distinguishing rite, the Communion, he had never scrupled to partake, when thus securing a civil office, or, according to his biographer, "expressing his charity, or holding a capacity for any considerable service;" and of that Church he was, as a qualified magistrate, in construction of law, a member.

Dr. Watts, in the Dedication of "Two Sermons delivered in Sir Thomas Abney's family at Theobald's," censures "that unrighteous law," the Act against occasional Conformity, of which, however, those who had qualified under the Test Act, and thus affected to be Churchmen, had no right to complain.

When "worthy persons, such as Sir Thomas Abney, and Sir John Fryer, were prevailed with to keep in their places, and content themselves with that restrained way of worship," they indeed appeared to have been as "wise in their generation" as any "children of this world." They thus would receive peculiar homage from their own party, and preserve their station as heads of the Nonconformists. They also offered a sacrifice to

The Duke of Marlborough, after all his glorious exploits, was now run down, as sacrificing his soldiers' lives against stone walls, and as having a formed design of getting himself declared General for life. There was afterwards no small stir in the Parliament, about considerable sums of money exacted of the contractors for bread for the army. The Duke being informed that this would make a noise, sent a letter to the Commissioners for Public Accounts in his own defence. They laid before the Commons the reasons of their dissatisfaction with this representation. Soon after, the Duke was turned out of all his places, the Queen being prevailed with to dismiss him her service, though then in the full career of success. The Duke of Ormond was made Commander-in-Chief in his room.

Twelve new Peers were now created, and brought into the House of Lords at once; a bold step, the like to which was never taken before. Had it not been for this unprecedented action, it was the general apprehension that the Earl of Oxford, on the very day on which it was done, would have been sent to the Tower.* These new-made Lords were

"the interest of King George," which "the Resident of Brunswick" would not fail duly to report, and, at the same time, secured their present capacity to partake the honours and emoluments which the late enactment had reserved for *bonâ fide* lay members of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. See "Monthly Repos." (1819) xiv. 721, 722.—Ed.

"He was so hard pushed," says Lord Bolingbroke, "that he had been forced, in the middle of the session, to persuade

called by some "the Earl of Oxford's troop," and by others, "the Hanover jury." A certain noble lord, alluding to the way of a jury which they equalled in their number, is said, upon their being introduced into the House, pleasantly to have asked, "who was their foreman?"

There died in the course of this year, Jan. 27, Wriothesly Duke of Bedford,* son to William Lord Russel, of the small-pox.

May 2, Laurence Earl of Rochester,† the Queen's uncle, President of the Council, at the age of sixty-seven. He was seized with an apoplectic fit, and died very suddenly. In him the High Church party were reckoned to lose their strongest support. M. Mesnager tells us,‡ that the French King was so sensible of the loss of him, that receiving the news of his sudden death, he cried out, "Rochester dead! then there is not a man of probity and counsel equal to him left in the world." And he gives us to understand, that "all that King's measures were immemediately changed upon this incident;" and that "this was the occasion of his being sent into England."

July 6, James Douglass, Duke of Queensbury and

the Queen to make a promotion of twelve Peers at once; which was an unprecedented and invidious measure, to be excused by nothing but the necessity, and hardly by that." See "A Letter to Sir William Windham," (1753) p. 32.—Ed.

* See *supra*, p. 16.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 10.—Ed.

‡ "Minutes of Negotiations," p. 80.—C.

Dover, who had had so great a hand in the Union between England and Scotland.* July 7, Dr. Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London.† He was succeeded by Dr. Robinson.

July 15, John Holles Duke of Newcastle, by a fall from his horse, as he was hunting. This Duke was reckoned to have had one of the greatest estates in the kingdom. He had a noble monument erected for him in Westminster Abbey.

Nov. 12, died Dr. John Ernest Grabe, a learned Prussian.‡

1712. Jan. 17, the Queen being indisposed, sent a message to the Commons by Mr. Secretary St. John, signifying that her plenipotentiaries were arrived at Utrecht. The same day, Robert Walpole, Esq. was expelled the House, and committed to the Tower, for taking money on account of contracts for forage of her Majesty's troops quartered in North Britain.§

Prince Eugene of Savoy came now into England, as an agent from the Emperor, to divert, if

* See *supra*, p. 49, *note*.—Ed.

† His Life was published in 8vo.—C. *Biog. Brit.* iv. 53. See *supra*, p. 40, *note*.—Ed.

‡ See an Account of him in the Annals of Queen Anne, year the Tenth, pp. 383, 384.—C.

Dr. Grabe died at the age of forty-six, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where his monument "was erected at the expense of the Lord Treasurer Harley." He is chiefly known as "the learned editor of the Septuagint, from the Alexandrian MS." in the Library, St. James's. *Gen. Biog. Dict.* vi. 166, 171. See Dr. Harwood's *View*, (1778) p. 119.—Ed.

§ *Chron. Hist.* ii. 15.—Ed.

it had been possible, the Queen's proceeding in the treaty of peace; and presented several memorials to that purpose. He was much caressed by our nobility, but went away* without success in the business for which he came over.†

Feb. 4. The Commons taking into consideration the state of the war, eleven points were brought in, ready penned and numbered, and without much ceremony a majority did, in an hour's time, proceed to pass their censures upon the late and present Emperor, the King of Portugal, and the States General, with all whom it had been declared but a little before, that a strict friendship and good correspondence was above all things to be cultivated, in order to the rendering the peace secure and lasting. The conduct of the allies, and of the late ministry in beginning and carrying on the war, was freely

* March 13. "At his audience of leave, her Majesty presented him with a sword of the value of 5000*l.*" *Chron. Hist.* ii. 17.—Ed.

† During this visit, Whiston "presented to the Prince," a copy of his "Essay on the Revelation of St. John," having "printed a short dedication" in Latin, "and fixed it to the cover." The pious and learned commentator appears to have regarded Prince Eugene as having accomplished a passage in the Revelation, "by his glorious victory over the Turks, 1697." The Prince returned "a present of fifteen guineas." *Memoirs,* (1753) pp. 175, 176.

Mr. Nichols relates that "the Prince is said to have replied, that he did not know he had the honour of having been known to St. John." *Lit. Anec.* (1812) i. 499.—Ed.

reflected on. Particularly, our zeal in attacking France on the side of Flanders (in which we had met with such glorious success) was represented to be (according to a saying of old Duke Schomberg) like the "taking of a bull by the horns."

The Lord Treasurer Harley being now in an exalted station and much caressed and courted, and carrying all before him, seemed willing to act the wary part, and moved much as if he was poising the two successions, to find out which weighed the heaviest, before he would absolutely determine the side he would make choice of. For this reason, among others, he sent his cousin, Thomas Harley, Esq. to the Plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, with the Queen's final instructions, and kept him there a good while; encouragement being in the mean time given to Sir Patrick Lawless, Abbot Gautier and other agents of the Pretender. He was afterwards sent also to Hanover. His negotiations there, and at Utrecht, were very expensive, as was observed by the Secret Committee in 1715, though by reason of the obstinate silence and reservedness of the said Thomas Harley, Esq. when under examination, they were not able to make any particular discoveries.

As to Mr. Secretary St. John, soon after made Viscount Bolingbroke,* he was much more open and

* "I was dragged into the House of Lords in such a manner as to make my promotion a punishment, not a reward; and was there left to defend the treaties almost alone." See "Letter to Windham," p. 31.—Ed.

barefaced in his proceedings. He was not only for directly giving up all the advantages of an expensive, but prosperous war into the hands of the enemy by an inglorious peace, but was this very year at the French Court, negotiating the fatal cessation of arms. He was met there by General Stanhope,* who being exchanged for the Duke of Escalone, was returning that way homeward, and by a good token offered to present that General to the French King, though he thought fit to decline the compliment. This minister indeed, of ours, under pretence of some things in dispute between the French and us, made frequent journeys to France, and visits to the Pretender, and had settled, it was said, the terms of his succession in private conferences; and was at length fitting out an embassy to give a public sanction to it. But a merciful God had better things in store for us.

Feb. 10, (1711-12,) the young Dauphin of France was carried off by a fever, after eight days' sickness, in the thirtieth year of his age; his Dauphiness, daughter to the Duke of Savoy, *dying* six days before him. Some had raised expectations from this Dauphin, he having had so great a man as the Archbishop of Cambray for his preceptor when he was Duke of Burgundy,† and discovering no great

* See *supra*, p. 224.—Ed.

† For whom Fenelon wrote, "Examen de conscience pour un Roi." The preceptor says to his pupil, after wishing for the preservation of the King and the Dauphin, "un des plus grands

approbation of some principles and measures of the Court. He was, indeed, a prince of a different mould, in some respects, from his ancestors. Had he lived to ascend the Gallican throne, some changes were expected for the better, both in Church and State. He had a great inclination to a peace with the Allies, upon more disadvantageous terms to France, than were at last put upon her. His death put the kingdom in general under a great consternation, and people began to entertain frightful ideas of a minority. He was suspected to favour Jansenism, which, in the opinion of many, acce-

malheurs qui vous pût arriver, seroit d'être Maître des autres, dans un âge où vous l'êtes encore si peu de vous-même."

Annexed to the "Examen" is "La Vie de Fenelon," (noticed *supra*, p. 114.) containing some interesting views of the pupil, and an account of the uncommon respect paid to the preceptor by the hostile armies in his neighbourhood. Both, first printed in Holland, and suppressed by the influence of the French minister, were reprinted in London, 1747.

"La vénération ne se renfermoit pas dans le seules armées Françoises.—Si les Généraux des Alliez apprenoient que quelque lieu a portée de leur armée lui appartînt en propre, ils y mettoient des gardes, et en faisoient conserver les grains et les bois, avec le même soin que s'il eût été question de l'un d'entre eux le plus accrédité.

"Ausitôt à la fin de la campagne de 1711, l'armée des Alliez se trouvoit entre l'armée de France et la petite ville de Cateau Cambresis. Le lieu étoit rempli des grains de l'Archevêque, et de ceux, que les habitans de la campagne y avoient réfugiez. M. le Duc de Marlborough les fit d'abord conserver par un detachment qu'il y envoya." pp. 169-171.—Ed.

lerated his death. His grandfather by his decease, not many months after his father, had the mortification, of seeing, as it were, and feeling himself die by piecemeal.

June 6, the Queen, in a speech to her Parliament, gave them to understand upon what terms* a peace might be made.

The two Houses appeared well pleased, if we judge by their addresses. Yet there was a very considerable dissatisfaction remaining. But the admirers of the peace carried it by numbers of voices.

The preface of Bishop Fleetwood,† (to some sermons,) in which he reflected on the change of Ministry, and the advances towards a peace, was ordered‡ to be burnt by the common hangman.

June 17, it was proposed among the Commons, that the Queen should be addressed that she would

* Among others "that we should, by contract, furnish the Spanish West Indies with negroes for thirty years, in the same manner as the French had done for ten years before."

Thus by "the Assiento," (1713) England secured the privilege of kidnapping negroes, for a profitable sale to the Spanish West Indies; an extraordinary sequel to the erection of churches, (*supra*, p. 239.) See "Diary of Burton," iv. 269, *note*.—Ed.

† Dated May 2, 1712, "Overflowing with Whiggish opinions, that it might be read by the Queen, it was reprinted in the Spectator." Johnson's *Lives*, (1783) ii. 337.

This No. 384, which circulates "above 14,000 copies," was published, so "that it might come out precisely at the hour of her Majesty's breakfast," to secure the "serving it up with that meal as usual." *Spectator*, (1788) v. 281, *note*.—Ed.

‡ By "the Commons," June 10. See *supra*, p. 114.—Ed.

give instructions to her plenipotentiaries, that the several powers in alliance with her Majesty, might be guarantees of the Protestant succession. But this was carried in the negative by a great majority; and the House declared an entire confidence in her Majesty: and June 21, the Parliament broke up.

There was now a general run of addresses from all parts of the kingdom, expressing great admiration of her Majesty's condescension, in letting her subjects know upon what terms a peace might be had, and abundant satisfaction in the measures taken, with respect to the peace and the Protestant succession, but the Dissenters, who had other apprehensions, thought it their best way to be silent, and keep themselves to themselves.

Nov. 5, N. S. King Philip made and signed a renunciation of the crown of France, for himself and his descendants, in the presence of the Cortez or States of Spain, who approved and confirmed it. The very same month, some British troops, with the Duke of Argyle at their head, sailed to Port Mahon, and took possession of it. About the same time, was published, the Cession of the Spanish Netherlands, by King Philip to the Elector of Bavaria, that had been agreed to, some time before; which was designed as a security for his being restored to his dignity and dominions in the Empire.

About this time, the Duke of Hamilton, who was designed to go Ambassador into France, received his death wound in a duel fought with the Lord Mohun, which occasioned strange and unaccountable excla-

mations from some people. The Duke of Marlborough, who upon taking the most innocent steps imaginable, was continually followed with suspicions, and traduced by mercenary libellers, thought it most prudent and safe to retire into Germany, which, having obtained a pass upon asking for it, he did, to the no small pleasure of some, that he would be out of their way, and the great grief of others that he should be so treated, after such eminent service to his country, and all these parts of the world.

The Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chamberlain, being (in the stead of Duke Hamilton) sent from hence Ambassador into France, the Duke D'Aumont was sent from thence Ambassador to our Court, and had his residence at a house of the Duke of Powis, in Ormond-street; but he had scarce been there a month, before the house was either accidentally or designedly burnt to the ground. Hereupon, the Duke D'Aumont had an apartment allotted him in Somerset House, where he continued for the time of his stay in England. It is commonly said, that the Pretender was there with him in a disguise, and had an opportunity of personal conversation with some of the greatest persons in our Court, which not a little heightened the fear and concern of the true friends of the Protestant succession.

The young Duke of Britany, who upon his father's decease, had been declared Dauphin of France, died at the latter end of this year, of a violent fever. This was the more remarkable, because he was the

third of that title, who was cut off by the immediate hand of God in the space of a single year. So that Providence seemed, as it were, to be breaking Louis XIV. upon the wheel, by destroying his posterity, upon whose number he valued himself so much, using to boast that he was the only King of France that had ever seen great-grandchildren descended from himself. This was particularly taken notice of by Count Luc, Ambassador from France, who in a General Diet of Switzerland had this expression, "The late death of three princes of the blood, in whom consisted all his Majesty's comfort, the hopes of his allies, and the happiness of his subjects, is enough to convince us, that we are governed by a higher Power, that does not consult with man."

There died also this year, July 3, Mr. Richard Stretton, M.A. ætat. 80. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Matthew Henry, who added a short account of his Life.

July 26, Thomas Osborne, Duke of Leeds, in the eighty-first year of his age. He was much lamented by the High-Church party, to whom he had done eminent services, in many hazardous instances. He had indeed gone through as many public posts, and made as much noise, and been as subtle in his management as a statesman, as any one of the age.

Sept. 15, Sidney Earl of Godolphin (at the age of about sixty-eight) who had for eight years, in a very critical juncture, managed the office of Lord High

Treasurer, with as much honour as any one that ever was in it. Yet, when the Ministry was changed, he was accused of robbing the Exchequer of no less than thirty-five millions sterling, though thirty-one millions were presently struck off, for which accounts were stated, and ready to pass. As for the rest, they, upon search, appeared expended for public service.* Though this great man was bred a courtier from his youth, yet he in reality lived privately amidst all the pomps and gaieties of a palace, affecting neither splendour in his own person, nor in his equipage, which indeed was too mean and scanty for a man that moved in so high a sphere, and held the rudder of state so long and so successfully in his hand.†

I, this year, (with an eye to the Occasional Bill that passed into an Act some sime before) published "Comfort and Counsel to Protestant Dissenters; with some serious queries to such as hate and cast them out, and a friendly admonition to such as desert them; in two sermons (from *Isai.* lxvi. 5.) preached first at Westminster, on March 30, and afterwards at the Merchants' Lecture in Salter's Hall, on May 20 and June 3, 1712." Upon that occasion, my old friend, the dialogue writer, poured

* See Mr. Withers's pamphlet, "The Whigs Vindicated."—C. It reached to an eleventh edition. See "Monthly Repos." iv. 251.—Ed.

† See his character by *Burnet*, ii. 614; and many notices by *Evelyn*, his intimate friend. See his *Index*.—Ed.

forth more of his mire and dirt in a piece entitled "English Protestant Dissenters not under persecution, &c." but was so little regarded, that I could not meet with any one that thought it worth my while to take the least notice of him.

Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity,"* a book that afterwards made a great noise, was this year first published.

1713. The beginning of this year, I lost my dear wife, who (I doubt not) rests in Abraham's bosom.

* "Wherein every text in the New Testament relating to that doctrine is distinctly considered; and the divinity of our blessed Saviour, according to the Scriptures, proved and explained. 3d Ed. 1732." In the Preface to "this third edition," as left by the author, he refers the reader to "Observations on Dr. Waterland's second Defence of his queries," for "full satisfaction, as to objections which have afforded matter of controversy."

Yet it would be very difficult, if indeed practicable, to reconcile the "Scripture doctrine of the Trinity," according to any fair construction of language, with the first and second of the Thirty-nine Articles; though to all those articles, the "Rector of St. James's" had, on induction, repeated his subscription; or with the Liturgic forms employed in his church, by himself, or by his authority. See vol. i. p. 266 *note*.

Dr. Clarke, however, not unfairly, appeals to the "Exhortation in the office for ordaining Priests," whence he borrows, for the sole motto on his title-page, the following episcopal injunction:

"That you will continually pray to God the Father, by the mediation of our only Saviour, Jesus Christ, for the heavenly assistance of the Holy Ghost."—ED.

I buried her in Aldermanbury Church, where our family lies interred. Upon occasion of her decease, my friend, Mr. Thomas Reynolds* preached a very suitable serious sermon in my congregation. She left me five children, one of which is since removed by death. As to them that survive, I hope God will make them comforts and blessings. I was a true hearty mourner upon the occasion, though I endeavoured carefully to watch against any thing of affectation.

After many and long deliberations at Utrecht about the Peace, there was at length an agreement. The Peace between Britain and France, (which M. Mesnager frankly owns to have been the means of delivering France from inevitable ruin and destruction,†) was signed April 11. The Dutch signed at the same time with us. Others of the Allies stood out, and refused for a time, and freely inveighed against us for deserting and even betraying them; but were obliged to comply, and come in some time afterwards. The Queen failed not to take notice of it soon after, in her speech to the two Houses of Parliament, and was congratulated upon it by both. The Peace was publicly proclaimed in London, May 5.

As for the treaty of Commerce, that remained still unfinished. The poor French Protestants, who had made such assiduous application, and were in

* See vol. i. p. 348.—Ed.

† "Minutes of Negotiations," p. 56.—C.

such hope of being considered and relieved, were left in the same destitute condition they were in before. Notwithstanding the professed zeal of the Queen for the Protestant religion, and her being guarantee for them to the crown of France, they yet continued unrelieved. A representation, in their favour, was indeed made to the French ministers at Utrecht, by her plenipotentiaries; but it had no effect, excepting that some that were slaves in galleys were released.*

The King of Prussia† died February 25, N.S.

* This year was published "An account of the torments which the French Protestants endured aboard the galleys; given by an eye-witness. Done newly out of French." This "eye-witness," a convert to Protestantism, was "John Bion, sometime chaplain to the Superbe galley, in the French service."

This "account" was prefixed to "the cruel sufferings and most exemplary behaviour of M. de Marolles, Councellor to the French King, &c. from his condemnation to the galleys, 1686, to his death in the dungeon, 1692."

M. Marolles, besides discovering uncommon Christian piety and resignation under the pressure of gross indignities and severe privations, was distinguished as a philosopher, mathematician, and algebraist. He had sufficient strength of mind to propose and solve difficult problems while lying in his dungeon, with a chain of thirty pounds' weight about his neck.—Ed.

† Frederick I. who first created Prussia into a kingdom. Frederic III. as if commenting on the comprehensive maxim:—

> "War is a game which, were their subjects wise,
> Kings would not play at,"

thus censures, even like "a son of peace," his grandsire's unfeeling and sanguinary ambition.

In the month of May this year, I took a journey into the West of England, for health and diversion. Setting out, on Monday towards noon, I reached Andover by noon the next day; and that evening got to Sarum. The next morning, I appeared in the pulpit, and gave them a sermon, at a day of prayer they were then keeping. Friday morning, I went forward for Dorchester, where I spent the next Lord's Day, and at their earnest request, preached twice in Mr. Nowel's pulpit. The next morning, I set out for Exeter, lay that night at Axminster, dined on the Tuesday with Mr. Ball at Honiton, and got that night to Exeter.

I was no sooner arrived, than I was attended by a number of the leading Dissenters of that city, who were impatient to hear what news I brought them

"Il sacrificia trente mille hommes de ses sujets pour parvenir à la royanté, dans les différentes guerres que fit l'Empereur. Il trafiquoit du sang de ses peuples avec les Anglois, et les Hollandois, comme les Tartares, qui vendent leurs troupeaux aux bouchers de la Podolie pour les égorger."

Such was the husband of the accomplished Sophia Charlotte of Hanover, (see vol. i. p. 429) who died 1705, aged thirty-six, and who is described by her grandson, as "une princesse qui joignoit tous les appas de son sexe aux graces de l'esprit et aux lumières de la raison." Frederick III. thus contrasts the tastes of these ill-matched consorts.

"Ce Roi qui avoit fondé une académie, par complaisance pour son épouse, entretenoit des bouffons pour satisfaire à sa propre inclination. La Cour de la Reine étoit toute separée de l'autre." See "Mémoires de Brandenbourg," (1751) pp. 31, 51, 96.—Ed.

from Mr. James Peirce, of Newbury, whom they had chosen to fill up a vacancy in that city. He had signified to them by letter, that they should know his mind in some things by me, upon my making them the visit I intended, and had accordingly met me on my road and communicated his thoughts, and left the issue to what appeared upon my conversing with the people at Exeter. Though I was tired with my journey, and was to preach the next morning, yet such was their eagerness, that they could not be satisfied without a great deal of discourse about the affair that night. They stayed with me till it was very late, and were really insatiable; and I thought they would have left me no time to take my natural rest.

Never before did I see such an earnestness in any people for a minister's coming among them. They talked as if they were quite undone, if he did not accept their call, and no one else could signify any thing to them, if they had not him. They ran to such a height, that I took the freedom to tell some of them that I was afraid they were under a sore temptation, and that their carriage would provoke God, some way or other, to cross their too raised expectations, either by suffering something to befal Mr. Peirce that should keep him from coming among them, or by blasting his pains among them, if their desires were gratified, by his settling with them. This was remembered by several of them afterwards with some concern, when there were such

heats among them about doctrinal matters. By me, I am sure, it never can be forgotten. I told Mr. Peirce himself of it, with no small trouble, when I saw him afterwards: and could not help thinking that the peculiar eagerness and impetuosity of their spirits, upon this occasion, boded very ill.

They had their desire at length, and compassed their design in his settlement, and for a good while reckoned themselves exceedingly happy. But, after some time, they questioned his soundness as to the doctrine of the Trinity, excluded him their place of worship, shut the doors upon him, and left him to shift for himself, and there were such flames amongst them as almost consumed them. Nay, they spread over that and the neighbouring county, and reached as far as London, and it was the great mercy of God, that our whole interest had not been thereby destroyed and ruined. It was a very instructive dispensation, and helped to make me more sensible than before, how dangerous a thing it is to have too raised expectations from the creatures; and how little reason we have to think that the wrath of man should work the righteousness of God.

May 6. I preached to "a numerous assembly of the Dissenting ministers of Devon and Cornwall," upon "the prudence of the serpent and innocence of the dove," and afterwards printed the sermon at their common request. I spent the afternoon in a meeting of the ministers, in a body, in order to advice and consultation about matters of common

concernment, in which all things were managed with great harmony, friendship and love; and I should have been glad if the same had always continued. I preached early the next morning, according to custom there, to the Society of young Men at Mr. Hooper's Meeting, and continued in the city the rest of the week, saving that I made an excursion to Cheriton Bishop to visit my uncle, Mr. James Calamy, who then lived there. I preached twice, the Lord's day following, at Exeter, and could not get them to be satisfied with my preaching once. The beginning of the week following I went for Plymouth, where I gave them a sermon on their Thursday Lecture: and the next day went for Leskard, in Cornwall, where I spent the following Sabbath, and preached twice.

The Monday morning following, I went to Launceston, the county town, and coming to the chief inn, found the yard full of persons of all ranks. Inquiring into the occasion of such a concourse of people, I was told there were to be cock matches that day. We had not been long in the room before we were alarmed with mighty shoutings, which drew me and my company down to see what was the matter, and going to the back of the inn, we there saw a cock-pit, and the cocks fighting, and a vast company of people, gentle and simple, looking on, shouting and betting with all the eagerness in the world. I stayed there a little while, to make observations, though I could see nothing entertaining.

Going from thence, after dinner, I visited Barnstaple and Biddiford, and got by Wednesday to Tiverton, where I gave them a sermon at their Thursday Lecture, and by Saturday got to Taunton. The next day I preached to a vast auditory at Paul's. Thence I got to Bath by Tuesday night, and gave them a sermon on the Wednesday and the Lord's day. Setting out thence, on Monday morning, I went through Cirencester, and Oxford to London; where through the great goodness of God I arrived in safety, making a remark, that I never went a journey,* in which I worked harder, or fared better than in this.

In April this year, the Duke de Berri, another grandson of the French King, died at Paris, after an indisposition of four days. This was the more sensible to the aged King, because though he used to boast that no Prince in the world had such a numerous issue descending from himself, yet upon this new death there appeared some danger that the succession to the Crown might go out of his own family to his nephew the Duke of Orleans; there being (according to the Act of Renunciation) none left betwixt that Duke and the Crown, but the young Dauphin,† whose constitution was generally reckoned not very healthful. This, in all probability, was what put the King of France upon legiti-

* See "Monthly Repos." (1821) xiv. 134, 135.—Ed.

† Afterwards Louis XV., now about two years old. He lived till 1774.—Ed.

mating his bastard sons, the Duke du Maine, and the Count de Toulouse, which may in time draw considerable consequences after it, because it makes them capable of inheriting the Crown.

Our Parliament continued sitting, and there was an odd incident in the month of May. The Scots were very uneasy, particularly upon account of the duty on malt, which was to extend to North Britain, after the Peace. Their nobility and gentry in London, consulting about that affair, deputed some to attend her Majesty, in hope of some redress. They remonstrated, that their countrymen bore with impatience the violation of some of the Articles of Union, and intimated that the malt tax would be a heavier burden than they could bear, and might raise the general discontent to such a height, as to endanger the Union. The Queen told them she would endeavour to make all things easy.

They afterwards laid their grievances before the Lords, which the Earl of Finlater reduced to four heads: that they were deprived of a Privy Council; had the laws of England, in cases of high treason, extended to them: their Peers were incapable of being made Peers of Great Britain; and they were liable to the malt tax, at a time when they thought they had reason to expect to enjoy the benefits of Peace. Seeing the Union between the two nations had not the good effects expected and hoped for from it, he moved for a Bill for dissolving the said Union, and securing the Protestant succes-

sion in the House of Hanover, and the Queen's prerogative in both Kingdoms, and preserving an entire amity and good correspondence between the two nations.

The English Peers seemed pretty indifferent whether the Union was dissolved or not, and the motion was rejected by a majoriyt of but four voices.* It is not impossible but the time may come, when this precedent may be made use of, to serve ill purposes.

May 20. Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, died† at his seat at Bromley in Kent.

June 11, N. S. The Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chamberlain, and Ambassador Extraordinary to France, made his public entry at Paris; as, July 1, the Duke D'Aumont, Ambassador Extraordinary from the French King, did at London.

This year there was a book published, in folio, entitled "The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England Asserted, and the English Constitution Vindicated." Though but a single person appeared concerned in drawing up this book, yet it was generally thought to contain the utmost strength of the most learned of the Jacobite party. The performance was much cried up, and the book dispersed with great industry, and many copies were given gratis to men in power. Yet it was obvious to every

* Fifty-six against sixty-four, *Burnet*, ii. 622; *Chron. Hist.* ii. 25. —Ed.

† Aged 78. See Noble's "Biog. Hist." ii. 83—85.—Ed.

reader, that the grand design of it was to put by the Hanover Succession, and pave the way for a Popish Pretender to the Throne. Upon a complaint made by the Hanover Minister residing here, Mr. Richard Smith, the bookseller, and Mr. Hilkiah Bedford, a Nonjuring clegyman, who delivered the copy to the printer, were taken up, and bound over for it. Mr. Bedford was tried for high crimes and misdemeanours, (had he not been favoured, his indictment had been for High Treason,) and cast.

The Chevalier de St. George having been some time in Lorrain, the Lords and Commons in July severally addressed the Queen, that she would use the most pressing instances with the Duke of Lorrain, and all Princes and States in amity with her, that they would not receive, or suffer the Pretender to her Crowns, to continue in any of their dominions; which she promised she would do. But it plainly appeared by the sequel, that his continuance in Lorrain was connived at by the Ministry.

July 5. Dr. Atterbury, who had given so much disturbance in all places to which he had been preferred, was made Bishop of Rochester, and Dean of Westminster in the room of Dr. Sprat. Many were startled at it, his friends being in full possession of power, and designs carrying on, highly prejudicial to the Protestant succession. It was their opinion that this would but afford him an opportunity of farther disturbance, in which they were not mistaken.

This, however, was the utmost height of that aspiring man's preferment, though not of his ambition. It was the Primacy of all England he ultimately aimed at.* Had not the Queen's unexpected death, the next year, prevented him, so well were his schemes laid, there would have been a fair probability of his carrying it; or at least, of his having a secular dignity, (the Privy Seal was very much talked of,) added to his prelacy. He had a view of Lambeth from Westminster. That was a great temptation.

The Treasurer was apparently his friend,† and the rest of the Ministry might promise him their concurrence. "The only rival he had to dread was Dr. Robinson, lately returned from the Congress at Utrecht, and big with expectations from the little merit he had in negotiating a scandalous peace. His character, however, declined apace; and those who had advanced him to the Bishopric of London, before his return, were so much ashamed of him, when they came to detect his ignorance and hebetude, and

* This learned dignitary, had, indeed, rendered himself worthy of the highest preferment High-Church could bestow. Dr. White Kennet, in a letter dated "Oct. 2, 1708," says:

"Dr. Atterbury preached the election-sermon, on Michaelmas-Day, for the Lord Mayor, correcting Mr. Hoadley for sedition, and carrying up the old doctrines of obedience so very high, that a majority of the aldermen were much offended, and put a negative upon the motion for printing his sermon." *Lansdowne MSS.*, 825-7.—Ed.

† It was generally said that this was done at the recommendation of the Earl of Oxford. C.

incompetency for that charge, that they wished him anywhere out of sight, at Sweden or Denmark again, to reside and merchandize, or write his histories, just as he pleased, rather than disparage their recommendation, by his daily and visible insufficiency. So that there was no great danger from that quarter."*

A seasonable warning concerning the danger of Popery, was now published by the commission of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,† drawn up with great zeal for the House of Hanover, and detecting the fallaciousness of the insinuations of the Jacobites.

A proclamation was published August 8, for dissolving the Parliament;‡ and another the seventeenth, for calling a new Parliament, which met and sat the beginning of the next year. The elections were carried on with great industry and zeal by the two contending parties.

At this time also the foundation of that afterwards called the Ostend Company, which made so great a

* See Memoirs of the Life and conduct of Dr. Francis Atterbury, pp. 70, 71.—C.

† See Kilpatrick, p. 457.—C.

‡ July 16, preceding, the Queen, after giving "the royal assent" in person, to several acts, among the rest, one "to build a church near the May-pole in the Strand," (the "New Church,") had prorogued the Parliament.

"The same day, gold medals, of the value of 4*l.* each, were given to the members of both Houses. On one side was her Majesty's effigies, and round it, *Anna Dei Gratia*, on the reverse, Britannia; and round it, *Compositis venerantur armis.*" See *Chron. Hist.* ii. 26, 27.—Ed.

noise and drew such consequences after it, may be said to have been laid. Of which John Ker of Kersland, Esq. (who went into Germany, and treated with the Emperor himself about it, and was so well received and rewarded) gives a particular account.*

On midsummer-day, this year, (1713,) Robert Breedon, Esq. a very honest gentleman, a member of my congregation, was chosen Sheriff of London and Middlesex, when he was about fourscore. It was designed, that he should fine; but his character being known, it was most earnestly desired by the Whig Lords, that he might be prevailed with to stand, and it was thought his so doing would be an eminent piece of service to the interest of the Hanover Family. And he was prevailed with, though he therein exercised great self-denial. He had the honour of Knighthood conferred on him the next year by King George.†

* See his "Memoirs," p. 76, &c.—C.

† The later Dissenters, became more honourably consistent than the Aldermen Abney and Fryer, or this "very honest gentleman" so acquiescing to "the Whig lords;" and who at "about four score" does not appear to have thought of "the honour of knighthood" as a poet thought of gold, that it "might come a day too late." They, at length, generally, refused occasional conformity, to "the Church by law established," from which they had conscientiously dissented.

* "In 1748 the Corporation of London" resolved to avail themselves of these conscientious scruples towards "defraying the expense of building the Mansion House." For this purpose, liverymen who were known to be strict Dissenters, were fre-

December 28. I preached a sermon to young people, that were catechumens of Mr. Billingsly at the Old Jewry, upon the character of good Obadiah; and afterwards printed it at their request.

I, this year, also published the second edition of my Abridgment, in two volumes, octavo. In the first, I brought the History of the Nonconformists down

quently nominated to the office of Sheriff; the Corporation having first "made a bye-law, imposing a fine of 400 pounds and 20 marks upon every person, who being nominated by the Lord Mayor, declined standing the election, and 600 pounds upon every one, who, being elected, refused to serve the office."

When "many Dissenters" had been "nominated and elected, and paid their fines, to the amount of above 15,000*l.*" the Deputies chosen "to protect their Civil Rights" determined to contest with the Corporation, the right to enforce these pecuniary exactions. After a variety of legal proceedings, during more than ten years, the Lords, in 1767, decided, in favour of the Dissenters. On this occasion the Earl of Mansfield, Lord Chief Justice, distinguished himself by a justly-admired speech, (see vol. i. p. 401, *note*,) in which he thus exposed the unworthy policy of the Corporation:—

"The professed design of making this bye-law, was to get fit and able persons to serve the office: and the Plaintiff (the Chamberlain of London) sets forth, in his Declaration, that if the Dissenters are excluded, they shall want fit and able persons. But were I to deliver my own suspicion, it would be, that they did not so much wish for their services, as for their fines. Dissenters have been appointed to this office, one who was blind, another who was bed-ridden; not, I suppose, on account of their being fit and able to serve the office." See *Appendix* to Dr. Furneaux's "Letters to Blackstone," *passim.* —Ed.

to the year 1711; and in the second, in which I placed my account of the ejected and silenced ministers by itself, I corrected several mistakes in my former account, and added, memoirs of several who were before omitted, or only just mentioned. This met with good acceptance.

I have said little, lately, of the body of Dissenters and their affairs. They were discontented and uneasy, and things had a very threatening aspect upon them. But this year (1713) was published a subtle letter to them about their behaviour, which insulted them in a cruel manner.

They were therein put in mind, that they were allowed by legal authority, that liberty of worship and freedom of assembling for the service of God, which they had often publicly affirmed to be the sum of their desires; and that her Majesty had, from the time of her accession to the throne, not only studied to remove all causes of jealousy and uneasiness, but, even to check the designs of such as attempted to put restraints upon them; and had, as far as in her lay, prevented the passing a law against occasional conformity, till the united voice of her people, and even of those whom they themselves owned for their particular protectors, claimed it of her, in a Parliamentary way, as absolutely necessary for the public safety, and so essential to the national good, as that there was not a voice in either House against it.

It was from thence declared utterly unaccountable, if the Dissenters should join with an enraged dis-

affected party, who having evil designs in view, endeavoured to draw them in to take part with them in undutiful behaviour to their Sovereign, and to oppose the just measures of her Government on pretence of civil grievances, which had no other foundation, than in the uneasiness of certain discontented Statesmen. Much more, that they should submit quietly to be made a sacrifice in their religious concerns, by that party which they so affectionately espoused, rather than lose the opportunity which they were made to believe they should, that way, have, to overthrow the persons into whose hands her Majesty had thought fit to entrust the administration of public affairs.

This author tells them that it could not be imagined that the Government would always sit still, and suffer the indignities, reproaches, and scandalous treatment, which it then bore with; that the Dissenters could not be able to support the faction, nor could by joining with them do any thing but partake of their punishment. And, if they could not support the party, it was queried why they should desire to fall with them? They were freely told, that they could expect no greater privileges than they now enjoyed, what party soever reigned; and asked, what they had to do with parties in the Government?

It was intimated to them, that they were well, and had been better, but for the occasional bill, which this very party brought upon them; joining with whom, if they succeeded, they could not be better; but if

they failed, they might be undone: that it was a mysterious folly in them to push themselves into this broil. That they could not expect more than they already had, from the Protestant successor. That they were never courted but with a design to be used, like David's heifers, first to draw the cart, and then to be burnt with the wood of it: that a certain noble Lord had, in a late pamphlet, recommended the present discontented party in the nation as the true and only friends of the Church, because they had at this time set their foot upon the Dissenters, and for ever made them safe from giving the Church any uneasiness; so that neither the Hanover succession nor the success or restoration of the party they espoused, could ever retrieve their case.

It was queried of them, why they should distinguish themselves by their animosity to the Ministry, covet to be ill with their sovereign, and oblige the Government to take the first occasion to lay their hands upon them; and how it could be prudent to place their safety and ease in the overthrow of this or that person or party; and whether it was not an infatuation, to be willing to appear with a party who have made the oppression of the Dissenters the express condition of their being restored?

They were advised to consider whether there was any proportion between the hazard run and the end proposed; and not to embroil themselves with their Sovereign and her administration for no cause, and for they knew not who. The guilty among them

were advised to stop in time, lest they involved the innocent in the ruin due to their folly; and the innocent were advised to distinguish themselves by such methods from the guilty, that it might be known, there were some among them that did not approve of their indiscretion; and that the Government might be moved not to resent it upon the whole body.

Though this letter was generally reckoned to have come from my Lord Treasurer Harley, or at least to have been published under his direction; and not the less so, for the notice it takes (p. 33.) of a tract written by a noble author, the Lord Marquis of Halifax, who was an eminent Tory, though a friend to the Constitution, and the Protestant interest, under the same title with this, viz. "A Letter to the Dissenters," yet did they not take much notice of it. For, as great as he was, they generally took him to be now their enemy, whatever he might have been formerly; and to be more governed by a regard to his own interest, than to that of his country.

1714. Feb. 16. The new Parliament met. Sir Thomas Hanmer (who had been a sort of agent in our army in Flanders, when the Duke of Ormond left prince Eugene, and for some time afterwards,) was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. In her Majesty's first speech to the two Houses, she mentioned with warmth the malice of those that insinuated "that the Protestant Succession, in the House of Hanover, was in danger under her govern-

ment.* In a little time Mr. Steele's *Crisis*, and his *Englishman*, were "voted scandalous and seditious libels," and he, for his offence, in writing and publishing them, was expelled the House of Commons.†

April 12.—The Lords thought fit to make an address for a proclamation for apprehending the Pretender, that so there might be the less danger from him. The Queen made answer, that she did not "at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation;" but whenever she judged it to be necessary, she would give her "orders for having one issued."‡

Soon after this, Baron Schutz was prevailed upon to demand of my Lord Chancellor a writ for calling the Electoral Prince of Hanover to the House of Lords. It is not agreed, who first proposed the making of this demand. This is ascribed to Lord Halifax, in that Lord's printed life. But I have perused some letters between Counsellor Acherley§ and the Court of Hanover, upon this subject, which incline me to believe that the scheme was of that gentleman's drawing, and that from him, Lord Halifax first received the notion of it, which he, that was behind no man in zeal, cultivated and improved. Be it as it will, as to that, the motion was complied with, after the matter had been debated, and a writ

* *Chron. Hist.* ii. 29.—Ed.

† *Ibid.*—Ed.

‡ See "Proceedings of the Parliament," ii. 417.—Ed.

§ Author of "The Brittannic Constitution, 1727."—Ed.

was granted accordingly. Yet so highly was this matter resented, that Baron Schutz was forbid the Court, and forced to return to Hanover.*

April 15. The Commons took into consideration the state of the nation. The question was, whether the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover was in danger, under her Majesty's Government? and a warm debate followed. But a majority of votes carried it against reason and argument. There were 256 that could see no danger, and but 208 that could discern any reason for apprehensions.

April 24. Both Houses joined in an Address approving the peace, as honourable, safe, and advantageous to Britain. Yet many remained very much dissatisfied. And the harbour and citadel of Dunkirk were now demolished; but the making a canal there, to convey those waters to the sea, which used to be discharged by the sluices, made many still uneasy.

In April, this year, the City of Glasgow, in North Britain, to show their particular zeal for the Hanover succession, at a time when many were very cool towards it, made the Electoral Prince free of their city, and sent him his burgess ticket in a golden box, which the Prince took kindly; and he thought fit to send them a letter to thank them for it.

May 4. Mr. Hilkiah Bedford, who had been convicted of publishing the book of "Hereditary Right," mentioned the preceding year,† was sentenced in the

* "Proceedings of the Parliament," ii. 417–419.—Ed.

† *Supra*, p. 268, 269.—Ed.

Court of King's Bench, "to pay a fine of 1000 marks, to remain a prisoner three years," and to be bound in a recognizance with four sufficient sureties, in a sum of 5000*l.* for his good behaviour during life. He was ordered to be brought to all the Courts in Westminster Hall, with a paper on his head, signifying his offence: but the last part of the sentence her Majesty remitted, out of regard to his function.

June 2. The lower house of Convocation represented to the upper, that Dr. Clarke's "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity, and several defences thereof, by the same author, did in their opinion contain assertions contrary to the Catholic Faith,* and tending moreover, to perplex the minds of men, in the solemn acts of worship, &c."† The Bishops answered, June 4, that "they approved the zeal of the lower House," for the preservation of the Catholic faith; and added, that they "thought they had just cause of complaint, and that they would take it into their consideration." June 12, they signified to the lower House, that they thought it proper an extract should be made of such passages in the said book, as gave the greatest offence, and were most liable to censure. Such an extract was accordingly laid before the upper House, June 23.‡ A few days after, Dr.

* "As received and declared by the Reformed Church of England, concerning three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity, in the unity of the Godhead." *Biog. Brit.* iii. 601.—Ed.

† "As directed by our established Liturgy." *Ibid.*—Ed.

‡ *Ibid.*—Ed.

Clarke thought fit to make a submission to the upper House, and to deliver to their Lordships a paper, wherein he promised neither to write nor preach any more upon those abstruse points.*

* See " Political State of Great Britain," vii. 460.—C.

" Since the book was published, he had never preached upon this subject, and, (because he thought it not fair to propose particular opinions where there is not liberty of answering) he was willing to promise, as indeed he intended, not to preach any more upon this subject.

" He did not intend to write any more, concerning the doctrine of the Trinity ; but, if he should fail herein, and write anything hereafter, upon this subject, contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, he did, hereby, willingly submit himself to any such censure as his superiors should think fit to pass upon him."

This submission, July 3, was qualified on the 5th, by a declaration, that " he did not preclude himself from a liberty of making any inoffensive corrections in his former books; or from vindicating himself from any misrepresentation or aspersions." *Biog. Brit.* iii. 602.

Voltaire, in 1725, on escaping from the Bastille, took refuge in England, where he first published *La Henriade,* under the patronage of the Princess, afterwards Queen Caroline. From the information gained during this visit, he reports that " the Scripture doctrine of the Trinity" had deprived the author of an advance to the primacy ; so unavailing, except to preserve the Rectory of St. James's, were these humiliating submissions ; if this report be correct.

" Le plus ferme patron de la doctrine Arienne, est l'illustre Docteur Clarke. Il ne s'est point engagé, dans les belles disputes scholastiques. Il s'est contenté de faire imprimer un livre qui contient tous les temoignages des premiers siècles, pour et contre les Unitaires, et a laissé au lecteur le soin de compter les voix et

The Schism Bill, was about this time, brought into the House of Commons,* and read the third time, June 1. It was opposed by General Stanhope, Mr. Hampden, Sir Peter King, Mr. Walpole, Sir Joseph Jekyl, and Mr. Lechmere, who represented that such treatment as the Bill encouraged, was like that which Julian, the apostate, gave to the Christians: and that it would, of course, encourage foreign education, which would drain the kingdom of great sums of money, and fill the minds of young men with prejudices, &c. But the Bill passed the House with a great majority ;† and so it did also the other House, not long after,‡ though it was warmly opposed there also.

Among others, the Lord Wharton, very pleasantly suggested,§ that he was agreeably surprised to see

de juger. Ce livre du Docteur lui a attiré beaucoup de partisans ; mais l'a empeché d'être Archevêque de Canterbery." See "Lettres sur les Anglois," (1736) pp. 45, 46.

It has been related on the authority of Archbishop Potter, that "there was once a formed design to make Dr. Clarke a bishop. Upon this, Bishop Trimnell," applied "to Archbishop Wake," who "declared he would not consecrate Dr. Clarke, whatever was the consequence to himself. Upon this the design was dropped." See "Monthly Repos." (1821) xvi. 341.—Ed.

* "By Sir William Windham, and supported by Mr. Secretary Bromley." See "Mem. of Q. Anne," (1729,) p. 290.—Ed.

† 237 against 126. It had been "thrice read in one day." *Ibid*, pp. 290, 297.—Ed.

‡ June 15, by 77 against 72. A protest was signed by 28 temporal Peers and 5 Bishops. *Ibid*, p. 298 ; "Proceedings of the Lords," ii. 428.—Ed.

that some persons were on a sudden, become so religious as to set up for patrons of the Church. But he could not but wonder that persons, educated in Dissenting academies, whom he could point at, (meaning the Earl of Oxford, and Lord Harcourt,) and whose tutors he could name, should appear the most forward in suppressing them. Such a practice was but an indifferent return for the benefit the public had received from those schools, which had bred up those great men, who had made so glorious a peace, and treaties that executed themselves; who had obtained so great advantages for the commerce of the nation; and who had paid the public debts, without farther charge to the nation; so that he could see no reason for suppressing those academies, unless it arose from an apprehension, that they might still produce greater geniuses, that should drown the merits and abilities of those great men.

But all that could be said, signified nothing. The Bill was to extend to Ireland. By virtue of this Act, Nonconformists teaching school were to be imprisoned three months. Each schoolmaster was to receive the sacrament, and take the oaths. If afterwards present at a Conventicle, he was incapacitated and to be imprisoned. He must teach only the Church Catechism. But offenders conforming, were recapacitated; and schools for reading, writing, and mathematics, after a warm debate, were excepted.

This Act was designed to have been yet more severe, but the agents were prevented, in several things

they intended. Yet I think it must be owned to be rigorous enough, for the Dissenters to be used as they were, on account of their peculiar zeal for the Hanover succession. They were, however, very active and united in their endeavours for their own defence, and published several papers that were distributed among Members of Parliament, some of which, if sober reasoning could have been listened to, it was thought could not but have made some impression. Among the rest, there was one of my drawing up, to which, though I did not set my name, yet I see no reason to be ashamed of it upon a review. It was entitled:—

"Queries humbly proposed to my Lords the Bishops, upon occasion of the Bill now depending in the House of Peers, to prevent (as is pleaded,) the growth of schism."*

It is said, in the Life of the late Earl of Halifax,† that his Lordship handed those queries into the House. But I well remember, I sat up all night to draw them up. It was the very night before the Bill came into the House of Lords.

While this unhappy Bill was depending, the Dissenters had three several meetings, from day to day, in order to the close considering of such matters as offered, and consulting with their friends, that so nothing within their reach, any way likely to ward off so threatening a stroke might be omitted, and no improper steps be taken. One of these meetings

* See *Appendix*, No. 5.—Ed. † P. 236.—C.

was in the City, another about the Temple, and a third at Westminster, near the Parliament-house, while the Members were sitting. They corresponded with each other, and acted by concert. One evening at one of these meetings, near the Temple, I heard a gentleman of a plentiful estate, declare he would willingly advance 1000*l.* rather than such a Bill should pass; an argument that there was a considerable spirit, at that time stirring, among us and our friends.

One great difficulty was, whether application should be made to Lord Treasurer Harley. Some were very zealous for it, and others vehement in opposing it. When it had been maturely weighed, it was carried for applying to him; that it might not be said afterwards, that we had omitted any thing in our power in so critical a juncture. Application was accordingly made to that Lord on our behalf, and that too, by some persons of distinction though to little purpose. As he had of late behaved and managed, we had no great reason to think he had any mighty inclination to interpose for screening us, upon such an occasion; and, as things at that time stood, it appeared very dubious, whether he could have saved us, had he been ever so desirous of it, and whether Lord Bolingbroke who was so zealous for the Bill, would not have been too strong for him.

We had another difficulty yet behind. When the Bill had actually passed the two Houses, and wanted

only the Royal Assent, it came into the heads of some wealthy citizens in our interest, to petition the Queen to give her negative. This fancy had so possessed them, and so much were they bent upon it, even after the closest arguing against it, in some private conferences, that it became evident there was no diverting them, unless some of the principal Whig Lords would openly declare against it, and give it as their opinion, that acting according to the project these citizens had formed, would have bad consequences.

Knowing, therefore, that on a day fixed they were to have a meeting, in order to preparing such a petition to her Majesty, I (in concert with a few of my brethren) sent my servant very early that morning with a letter to Lord Sunderland, ordering him to deliver it to his Lordship's porter at the gate, (together with somewhat to drink his master's health,) with a desire he would deliver it to my Lord, whether stirring or not, and endeavour to get an answer. The porter delivered it, and my servant was called in. My Lord returned for answer, that he thought the method, my letter mentioned, was exceeding weak and foolish, and if pursued would ruin our cause; and that was not his sentiment alone, but my Lord Townshend's also, at that time with him, in consultation about the affairs of the public, in that nice juncture. He added, that if I would be in the Painted Chamber that day, between ten and eleven, and bring with me any of the citizens referred to, he

would, upon sending for him out of the House of Peers, readily undertake to give us full satisfaction.

At the time appointed, I was at the place, and took care to have some of the gentlemen referred to, with me. My Lord readily came to us, and very frankly assured us, that what was proposed was the falsest step that could be taken. He told us, that the Queen was most heartily engaged in this Bill from the beginning; and therefore now, at last, to address her to put a negative upon it, was perfectly ridiculous. Our moving for a negative from the throne to a Bill that had passed the two Houses,* was a stabbing the Whiggish cause to the heart, and would expose us to such reflections as we could never be able to bear or wipe off. By such a step, we should do the Whig Lords the greatest mischief, and discourage others from ever appearing or acting as our friends, &c.

* "The rejecting a Bill, though an unquestionable right of the Crown, has been so seldom practised, that the two Houses are apt to think it a hardship when there is a Bill denied." *Burnet*, ii. 107.

In 1597, Elizabeth "refused her Royal assent" to forty-eight Acts which had passed both Houses." *Lex Parl.* (1690) p. 198. William was, I believe, the last who exercised the Royal veto; in 1693, in the case of a Bill "for the frequent calling and meetings of Parliaments;" and in 1694, of one "touching free and impartial proceedings in Parliament." *Grey*, x. 299, 386. See "Diary of Burton." ii. 451–453. In 1658-9, there was a debate in the Lord Protector Richard's Parliament, on the negative voice of the Chief Magistrate. *Ibid.* iii. 326-345.—Ed.

The gentlemen present thanked his Lordship for his frankness, promised to put a stop to the design in which they had engaged with so much warmth, and did it effectually, by reporting what had passed. But the Bill had its course, and was designed to have been followed with an attempt to deprive the Dissenters, all over the kingdom, of their right to vote in Elections for Members of Parliament. This is what they, in all probability, had come to, in the very next Session, had not Providence prevented them by her Majesty's decease, which necessarily gave their thoughts another turn.

May 19. The Queen wrote a letter to the Princess Sophia, of Hanover, mother to the Elector, intimating, that ever since the right of succession to her kingdoms had been declared to belong to her and her family, some disaffected persons had entered into measures to fix a Prince of her blood in her dominions, whilst her Majesty was yet living. Of this she discovered her dislike,* and urged her to open herself to her with freedom.

* "Queen Anne," says Mr. Noble, "entertained some jealousy of Sophia, as her heir-apparent. Besides, she had recalled her son George from England, when on the point of uniting himself to her, that he might receive the hand of his first-cousin, Sophia Dorothea, of Zell. Anne, the Queen, could not entirely forgive the injuries of Anne, the Princess." See "Biog. Hist." ii. 9.

"1680. Feb. 25." According to Wood's *Fasti*, "George Lewis, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenberg, was created with solemnity, Doctor of Laws. This person, who was now commonly

The Princess was much shocked with the letter, and did not long survive the receipt of it. Walking in the gardens of Haurenhausen, June 8, in the evening, she was taken with an apoplectic fit, and died in the arms of the Electoral Princess, before any one could come to her assistance.* This was no sooner notified in an audience Baron Bothmar had of the Queen, (June 29,) than an Order of Council was published, for praying publicly all through the nation, for the Elector of Brunswick.

At length, the Parliament, who had so far sided with the Ministry, as to approve the Peace with France and Spain, as safe, honourable, and advantageous, before they knew all the particulars, could not be prevailed with to approve the eighth and ninth Articles of Commerce with France, seeing our own trade was thereby in effect given up. This was a matter with which the trading part of the nation was not a little alarmed. Among other effects, the Tory Ministry was thereby divided among themselves. God sent among the chief of them a spirit of discord and confusion, to bring to nought the Babel they were raising, and hasten their destruction. Their jangling, one with another, made the Queen exceeding uneasy, and much added to the bodily weakness she had been for some time under.

called Prince of Hanover, had come to Whitehall, on the 16th Dec. going before, purposely to pay his respects to the Lady Anne, daughter of James Duke of York." *Athen. Oxon.* ii. 886.—Ed.

* See Noble's "Biog. Hist." ii. 9—Ed.

Lord Bolingbroke and his friends got the better of the Earl of Oxford, who, finding his Royal Mistress in very declining health, thought it high time, it was said, to make his court to the rising sun. He was charged, in order to ingratiate himself with the successor, with endeavouring a reconciliation with his former friends, the Whigs, and with entering into measures opposite to the Queen's, and even to those that he himself was engaged in. However it was, on July 27, the Treasurer's staff was taken from him, and he was not able, by all his artful insinuations, to gain confidence in the family he courted. As it generally happens to deep designers, that look two ways at once, he (as before signified to him by some that heartily wished him well) found himself detested by one side, and at last, abandoned by the other.

By this breach among themselves at Court, the measures of those that had for some time the management of public affairs, were strangely disconcerted. Their mutual confidence was quite lost, and their affairs run into such confusion, that, though the Queen's danger very sensibly increased every day, they could never cement again. The poor Queen quite broke her heart, and the Act of Succession, which none was then bold enough to gainsay, took place.

It was very observable, that Divine Providence so ordered matters, that the unsettled posture of affairs abroad, at the time of the Queen's demise, would not permit the foreign friends of the Pretender to

send any forces, to encourage an insurrection in his favour. And the unreadiness of his surprised abettors here, would not permit them to appear in such a manner as to invite or encourage an invasion. So it came about, that King George succeeded so peaceably as he did upon the Queen's decease.*

* The transfer of attachment from Queen Anne to King George, so naturally produced among the Nonconformists, by the later acts of the Queen's reign, and the justly-entertained hope of favour from her successor, has never perhaps been better illustrated than in the panegyrical verses of Watts. In 1705, the poet sings:—

"Princess, the world already owns thy name:
Go mount the chariot of immortal fame,
Nor die to be renown'd. Fame's loudest breath
Too dear is purchas'd by an angel's death.
"Long bless the earth, and late ascend thy throne
Ethereal; not thy deeds are there unknown,
Nor there unsung.
"But oh! the parting stroke! some heav'nly pow'r
Cheer thy sad Britons in the gloomy hour;
Some new propitious star appear on high,
The fairest glory of the western sky,
And Anna be its name."

The poet, however, at length, rejects as erroneous this appriation of merit and renown, and thus subjoins his *Palinodia* to a new edition.

"Britons, forgive the forward muse
That dared prophetic seals to loose.
"George is the name, that glorious star;
Ye saw his splendours beaming far,
Saw, in the east, your joys arise,
When Anna sunk in western skies."

Having once appeared to suspect that William might be *Ga-*

It was an affecting thing to many to observe, that, notwithstanding all the glories of her reign, which were very remarkable, things came at length to that pass, that, during her last illness, when she seemed at all likely to recover, or grew ever so little better, the public Stocks fell; whereas, in proportion as she grew worse, and her danger increased, they advanced, and rose higher than they were before.

briel in a mortal disguise, (See vol. i. p. 415.) the poet now seems to have discovered Milton's *Uriel* in the founder of the new dynasty.

" 'Twas George diffused a vital ray,
And gave the dying nations day:
His influence soothes the Russian bear,
Calms rising wars, and heals the air;
Join'd with the sun, his beams are hurl'd
To scatter blessings round the world,
Fulfil whate'er the muse has spoke,
And crown the work that Anne forsook."—
Works, (1800) vii. 252, 253.

This "influence" of George I. which not only "soothes the Russian bear," (a process now so much to be desired, for the repose of Europe,) but also "heals the air," is more classical than Christian, and rather in the manner of Tertullus than of Paul. Thus, Horace, when he would compliment his "Tutela Præsens," enquires what region of nature the Emperor will condescend to govern. Thus, too, some adherents of the Stuarts had inferred their "right divine" from the efficacy of "the royal touch;" for which there remains in the Liturgy a form, now become obselete, entitled "At the Healing."

I have not been able to quote such complimentary, not to say, adulatory strains, which must have escaped, *currente calamo*,

CHAPTER IX.

1714—1727.

Hints relating both to Public and Private matters, in the Reign of King George I.

QUEEN ANNE died at Kensington, August 1, on the very day that the Schism Act was to have taken place.* By her death, all the schemes of the ene-

from a gifted scholar and eminent Christian, like Dr. Watts, without recollecting a line he once adopted—

"The Court 's a golden, but a fatal circle,"

and suspecting that it may, sometimes, have proved as fatal to the correct taste, as to the strict and manly virtue of those who were living under its influence, or had become partakers of its smiles.—ED.

* Such a coincidence could not escape observation in an age more disposed, probably, than the present, to award the divine retributions, as human prejudices or interests might decide. Even, so late as 1758, such a man as Dr. Benson could thus assume, in a sermon preached at Salter's Hall (p. 22).

"On the very day that the Schism Act was to take place, God once more appeared for us, in the most remarkable and distinguishing manner; took away the life of that Princess, who had so far been seduced, as, causelessly, to seek our destruction; and introduced King William's legacy, the amiable and illustrious House of Hanover. O that glorious first of August! that most signal day, which ought never to be forgot!"

This "Act to prevent the growth of Schism," became, at once, (as no court-lawyer would now enforce the penalties,) almost a

mies of the Hanover succession, which were deeply laid, were broken at once. At that instant, the Duke of Shrewsbury (who had changed sides so often, that at length neither Tories nor Whigs were very free to confide in him) was, at once, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord High Treasurer of Great

dead letter, till its formal repeal, 5 Geo. I. It had very unjustly prohibited all who should "willingly resort to a conventicle or Jacobite meeting," or who were not practical conformists "to the Liturgy of the Church of England," from teaching the classics or the higher branches of philosophy, under the penalty of being "committed to the common gaol, for three months, without bail."

They were, however, free to "instruct youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, or other mathematical learning, so far as it relates to any mechanical art only, and it be taught in the English tongue."

This Act which, by these restraints on liberal education, would "meanly seek the blessing to confine," (a project which has for ever tarnished the literary reputation of Lord Bolingbroke,) was yet liberality itself, compared to a base attempt of the Long Parliament, while under Presbyterian ascendency. In 1642, they demanded of Charles, his assent to "a bill for the education of the children of Papists by Protestants, in the Protestant religion." *Parl. Hist.* xi. 132.

Ludlow (*Mem.* i. 35.) quotes this among nineteen propositions, without the slightest hint of disapprobation. It may, indeed, be fairly questioned, whether Dr. Benson, or, still more, Dr. Calamy, or any of their contemporary Nonconformists, ever thought of censuring such a barbarous project, which violated the first rights, and interfered with the first duties of nature, or of branding it, on behalf "of Papists," their fellow-Christians, though of another sect, as a design, sufficiently obvious, "to seek *their* destruction."—Ed.

Britain, and Lord Chamberlain, three great employments scarce ever known to have been, at once, in the same hand. He was also, by Act of Parliament, till the arrival of the next successor, one of the Lords Justices in a double capacity; as Lord Treasurer, and also as one particularly named in the instruments here deposited by the said successor for the time being.

Another thing at that time much noticed was, the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough, after escaping a dreadful tempest upon the sea for several days. Though some talked but oddly of the views on which he returned, yet his coming to London so very seasonably, August 4, and declaring for the House of Hanover, that discovered a particular regard for him, not a little disheartened the secret enemies of that august family.

King George, after the three instruments which had been deposited in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the Resident of Brunswick, had been publicly produced and opened, and read in Council, was proclaimed in London and Westminster, on the very day in which the Queen died, by the Lords Justices, and the rest of the Privy Counsellors. Lord Bolingbroke was not only among the first that signed the proclamation, but sent an early account of it to the Court of Hanover, with great expressions of joy, and tenders of duty. Orders were also sent to proclaim his Majesty in North Britain and Ireland. It was done

everywhere, with very great rejoicing, for which there was good reason.

It must be said, even for those who were reckoned the worst enemies of the House of Hanover, before, that they bore their disappointment, at first, with a better grace, than, all things considered, could well have been expected from persons so flushed with hopes of carrying all before them. They seemed as well satisfied with his Majesty's peaceable accession, and attended the ceremony of his proclamation with as cheerful looks as any persons. Or, if they were in a sudden fright, they, in a short time so far recovered themselves, as to lay no small claim to his Majesty's favour.

"The King," they gave out, "intended to become an universal father to his people, and not to caress any particular party. His religion,"* they said, "was nearest a kin to the Church of England, and most consonant to those high doctrines in it which they professed; and the form of his Government abroad, could not but countenance their notions of passive obedience, and other exaltations of the royal prerogative." Upon these presumptions, they promised themselves an equal share, if not a superiority, above their fellow-subjects in the King's affections. But they soon found themselves mistaken.

The Parliament, pursuant to the Act of the 5th of Queen Anne, met in the afternoon of the day she died. The Speaker being in Wales, at his country seat, the members present immediately qualified

* "Lutheran."—Ed.

themselves, by taking the oaths. Other members did the same, as they came to town, the second, third and fourth. The Regents took care to reinforce the garrison of Portsmouth; sent out vessels to view the harbours of France, and made choice of Mr. Addison for their secretary,* which was a mortifying thing to Lord Bolingbroke. They also issued a proclamation, requiring all in offices of authority or government, to proceed in their offices, and take the oaths.

August 5. Both Houses voted addresses to his Majesty, of condolence and congratulation, which were presented, in order to their being transmitted to him accordingly, and suitable answers were returned.

Aug. 24. The late Queen was interred in Westminster Abbey.

Aug. 31. Lord Bolingbroke, notwithstanding his forwardness, in the expressions of his joy, and tender of his duty to the Court of Hanover, was removed from his office of Secretary of State, by express orders from thence. The Dukes of Shrewsbury and Somerset, and the Lord Keeper, taking

* "He was required by his office," says Johnson, "to send notice to Hanover, that the Queen was dead, and that the throne was vacant. To do this would not have been difficult to any man but Addison, who was so overwhelmed with the greatness of the event and so distracted by choice of expression, that the Lords, who could not wait for the niceties of criticism, called Mr. Southwell, a clerk in the house, and ordered him to dispatch the message." *Lives*, (1783) ii. 357—Ed.

the seals from him, locked, and sealed up, all the doors of his office in the Cockpit.

Sept. 15. A proclamation was signed by the Lords Justices, in Council, ordering the payment of one hundred thousand pounds, to any person who should seize and secure the Pretender; in case he should land, or attempt to land, in any of his Majesty's dominions.

The next morning after the King's arrival at Greenwich, which was Sept. 18, Lord Townsend, Secretary of State, told the Duke of Ormond (though he went to wait upon the King, in all the state and magnificence imaginable, and even outdid himself, as well as the rest of the nobility, in the splendour of his equipage, to testify his respect,) that his Majesty had no longer occasion for his service in the quality of Captain-general; but would be glad to see him at Court. The Earl of Oxford was not at Greenwich, on the evening of the King's arrival. But though one of the earliest there the next morning, it was with much ado, he got the bare honour of kissing his Majesty's hand, without exchanging so much as a word with him.

Sept. 20. The King made a pompous entry into the City of London, together with the Prince, with great acclamations of joy.

He began his reign with a noble declaration for liberty of conscience; and never could he be charged as acting inconsistently with it. At his first appearing in Council, Sep. 22, he made a declara-

tion, in which he expressed himself in the following words:

"I take this occasion to express to you my firm purpose, to do all that is in my power, for the supporting and maintaining the Churches of England and Scotland, as they are by law established. Which I am of opinion, may be effectually done, without the least impairing the toleration, allowed by law, to Protestant Dissenters, so agreeeable to Christian charity," &c.

Sept. 84. William Lord Cowper was made Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, in the room of Lord Harcourt.

After this, there was a run of addresses, from all parts of the kingdom. I shall only take notice of that which was presented by the Dissenting ministers of the several denominations, in and about the Cities of London and Westminster, with Dr. Daniel Williams at the head of them.*

* It was expressed thus:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"With thankfulness and joy, equal to the great occasion, we congratulate your Majesty's peaceable accession to the throne, and your own and the Prince's safe arrival; the merciful return of many ardent prayers.

"When we recollect your Majesty's descent from the King and Queen of Bohemia, those renowned patrons of the Protestant religion, we cannot but adore the divine Providence, which has now rewarded their sufferings, for that cause, in their royal offspring, with a crown that renders your Majesty the head of the whole Protestant interest. But your Majesty's zeal for the same religion, your known affections to the liberties of Europe,

There were near an hundred ministers that presented this address. They were introduced by the

and the rights of mankind, with your other celebrated virtues, give us the surest prospect, that the blessings of your reign will be as extensive as your power.

"The parliamentary entail of the crown upon your illustrious House, we have ever esteemed one of the greatest blessings, procured for us by our late glorious deliverer, King William of immortal memory. To this happy settlement we have stedfastly adhered, against all temptations and dangers. Our zeal herein has been owned to be very conspicuous, by those noble patriots, who now surround your throne.

"We hold no principles but what do in conscience oblige us to acknowledge your Majesty for our only rightful and lawful sovereign, and to do every thing in our power to support your title and government, against all pretenders whatsoever.

"Your Majesty's wise and gracious Declaration, for which we render our unfeigned thanks, does sensibly relieve us under our present hardships, and give us ground to hope, that, as we are inseparably united in interest and safety, with all that adhere to the succession and monarchy, as by law established, so we shall share in that protection and favour, which will make us happy with the rest of your subjects.

"We shall constantly pray for the long life and prosperity of your Majesty, for their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and all the branches of your august family.

"May that God, by whom kings reign, help you so to employ your mighty power and interest, that it may be your Majesty's glory to protect the Protestant religion, to suppress the profaneness of the age, to heal the divisions of your people, to assert the rights of the injured abroad, and to preserve the balance of Europe."

To which his Majesty returned this gracious answer.

"I am very well pleased with your expressions of your duty to me, and you may depend upon having my protection."— C.

Duke of Devonshire, Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household. They had all the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, and the Prince's afterwards; being introduced to his Royal Highness, by the Lord Duke of Argyle.*

Oct. 23. The Princess of Wales, and two young princesses, her daughters, arrived in London.

20th. His Majesty was crowned, with great solemnity, at Westminster, the crown being put upon his head, with a peculiar joy, by the aged and feeble Archbishop of Canterbury, (Tennison) who afterwards cheerfully sang his *nunc dimittis*. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of Oxford, from *Psalm* cxviii. 24. The subtle Bishop Atterbury, soon after the coronation, offered to present the King (with some view, no doubt, of standing better in his favour) with the chair of state and royal canopy, his perquisites, as Dean of Westminster. But the offer being rejected, with some neglect, it struck to his heart, and turned to resentment and indignation.

There were strange tumults and disorders, on the very day that his Majesty was crowned, at Bristol, and at Chippenham, in Wilts, at Norwich and Birmingham, and divers other places. Afterwards,

* "The ministers being clad in the Geneva cloak, similar to that used at funerals, led a nobleman to ask, 'what have we here? a funeral!' On which the once celebrated Thomas (familiarly called Tom) Bradbury replied, 'No, my Lord! A resurrection.'" See "Monthly Repos." (1820) xv. 316.—Ed.

there were like disturbances in and about the city of London, attended with insolent clamours against the King and his government. If we look back to the history of time past, we shall not find any one of our princes, from the days of William the Conqueror, so outrageously insulted, on the very day of his inauguration, as King George now was.

His Majesty, in his proclamation, published on the occasion, took notice how many of his good subjects were beaten, maimed and murdered, their persons abused, and their houses insulted. And all this was without any provocation given by the injured persons, and for no other reason in the world, but because they manifested their joy for the peaceable accession of a Protestant prince to the British throne; and it was observed that even this proclamation itself had no great effects.

The Pretender's declaration from Plombieres, dated August 29, asserting his right to the crown, was soon after published in English, French and Latin; and it was sent particularly to several persons of distinction among us. He therein owns, that for some time at least he had been assured of his sister's good affection,* of which some that

* "The Queen," says Mr. Noble, "regretting the fate of an unfortunate brother, would not have been displeased, if the Parliament had rescinded the act, which conveyed the sceptre from the Stuarts, to a family for which she felt no regard." See "Biog. Hist." ii. 9.—Ed.

thought they had no reason to doubt it before, were glad to have a confirmation from himself, under his hand.

Though some, at first, represented this declaration as a forgery, yet it perfectly confounded them, to see, by a letter of the Duke of Lorraine to Monsieur Lamberti, his minister here, (who could not obtain an audience from King George, because the Chevalier was sheltered in his dominions,) that that prince acknowledged the declaration to be genuine, and that the Pretender himself had given him one of them. It must be owned, as to this declaration, that it was penned artfully enough, and adapted to the prevailing discontents of the nation. It was posted up, in most market towns, and, in some places, his title was proclaimed. When the rioters came to be tried at Bristol, the faction proved very mutinous, and raised a great mob, to terrify the court. And the matter miscarried, through the corrupt practices of some, who thought it highly concerned them to cover their own wickedness.

The Duke of Athol coming to town at the beginning of this reign, from the Highlands of Scotland, sent his gentleman to me, to desire a visit. Upon my waiting upon his Grace, he was pleased to enter into discourse, about Lockhart's Memoirs. He asked me if I had seen that book. I made answer that I had both seen and read it. He told me it was a vile book, and full of abominable lies. I told his Grace, I hoped there were many things in it not

true, of particular persons; but I was afraid there was too much truth in some parts of it.

He told me, he was well assured there was one part of it far from being true, that related to himself.* He added, that he thought it a miserable thing for a person of rank and quality, to be so wretchedly abused and wronged, and to have no opportunity to vindicate and right himself. I replied, that I thought his Grace had a very easy way to vindicate himself, if he was inclined to take it; and, if he knew himself to be entirely innocent, it was pity but he should take it.

He asked what way I meant. I told him, that book, though generally ascribed to Lockhart, of Carnwath, yet being published without any name, was but a libel; and if his Grace would transcribe out of it all passages relating to himself, and return an answer, and set his name to it, I did not doubt but it would be much more regarded than the charges of a nameless writer. His Grace seemed to like my proposal, but complained that he was not sufficient

* Lockhart had thus concluded the Duke's character:

"He was endowed with good natural parts, though by reason of his proud, imperious, haughty, passionate temper, he was no ways capable to be a leading man of a party, which he aimed at. He was selfish to a great degree; and his vanity and ambition extended so far that he could not suffer an equal. He was reputed very brave, but hot and headstrong; and though no scholar, nor orator, yet expressed his mind very handsomely on public occasions." *Memoirs*, pp. 65, 66.—Ed.

master of the English language; and offered that if I would draw up such an answer for him, he would furnish me with materials, and should take it very kindly. I told his Grace, that if he would draw up an answer, and set his hand to it, and allow me to keep the original, for my own justification, I would endeavour to serve him. He thanked me, and I received civilities from him, but heard no more of the proposal.

June 22, this year, (1714,) died Mr. Matthew Henry,* pastor of a flourishing congregation at Hackney, which afterwards divided into two distinct societies, under the pastoral care of Mr. Barker, and Mr. Smith. Mr. Henry had two funeral sermons, which were both printed; the one by Dr. Williams, and the other by Mr. Tong.†

Dr. Edward Fowler, Bishop of Gloucester,‡ (a very worthy man) died on the very same day with Queen Anne, and Dr. John Moore, Bishop of Ely, the day before. This Bishop Moore§ (the son of that Mrs. Elizabeth Moore, whose "Evidences for Heaven," were published by my worthy grandfather, at the end of his "Godly Man's Ark," &c.) was a great patron of learning and learned men. He had as good a library as any single person of this age. Bishop

* "At Nantwich, of an apoplectic fit, upon a journey," aged 52. *Gen. Biog. Dict.* vii. 39.—Ed.

† Who wrote his life. See *supra*, p. 39, 41, *notes*.—Ed.

‡ See Vol. i. p. 63.—Ed.

§ To whom Whiston had been Chaplain, and whom he calls his "patron." See vol. i. p. 415, *note*.—Ed.

Burnet,* says, that he "had gathered together a most invaluable treasure, both of printed books and manuscripts, beyond what one could think that the life and labour of one man could have compassed." After his death it was purchased by King George I, and presented to the University of Cambridge.†

Many reckoned it a happiness that these Bishops lived so long, because by that means their vacant bishopricks were filled up by King George. Dr. William Fleetwood‡ was made Bishop of Ely; Dr. Richard Willis, Bishop of Gloucester; and Dr. Wynne,§ Bishop of St. Asaph.

* "History of the Reformation," part iii. p. 46.—C.

† It happened at the same time, that a body of cavalry was quartered at Oxford. This coincidence produced two epigrams. The first is here quoted from memory, though, I believe, almost verbally exact:—

"The King to Oxford, sent a troop of horse,
For there they own no argument but force;
To Cambridge, books the generous Monarch sent,
For there, they own no force, but argument."

The other, in a collection of "Satirical Epigrams," is thus given:—

"The King observing with judicious eyes,
The state of both his Universities,
To one he sent a regiment; for why?
That learned body wanted loyalty:
To the other he sent books, as well discerning,
How much that loyal body wanted learning."

Festoon, (1767) p. 56. Ed.

‡ See vol. i. pp. 114, 254.—Ed.

§ Author, in 1695, of "An Abridgment of Mr. Locke's Essay, concerning Human Understanding." 5 Ed. 1737. Ed.

I, this year, (April 23,) at the Lord's-day morning lecture, at Little St. Helens, preached a sermon on "The Seasonableness of Religious Societies," and printed it.

Towards the latter end of this year, my eldest son, who had been trained up in grammar learning, at the school at Westminster, went to Edinburgh, to lay the first foundation of academical learning.* I went with him as far as Yorkshire.

Mr. Walker's "Attempt,"† in opposition to my Abridgment, was this year published. It had been long drawing up, and great pains had been taken in sending all over the nation for particular accounts, in opposition to mine. Some time after, he had the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon him, as

* See *supra*, p. 145.—Ed.

† "Towards recovering an account of the number and sufferings of the Clergy of the Church of England, Heads of Colleges, Fellows, Scholars, &c., who were sequestered, harassed, &c. in the late times of the Grand Rebellion; occasioned by the ninth chapter (now the second volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of the Life of Mr. Baxter. Together with an examination of that chapter. By John Walker, M. A. Rector of St. Mary's the More, in Exeter, and sometime Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, 1714."

The temper with which the author controverts, and endeavours, with little success, to depreciate Dr. Calamy's "Account," may be easily conjectured from this motto on his title-page; supported by a large quotation from Bishop Bramhall against Baxter.

"Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye. *Matt.* vii. 5."—Ed.

a reward.* Some "Remarks on Dr. Walker's late Preface to his Attempt," were soon made by Mr. Withers, of Exeter.† But, finding a more particular consideration of it was by many expected from me, I endeavoured it some years after.‡

1714, Nov. 1,. died Dr. John Radcliffe, a celebrated physician, who got great wealth by the exercise of his faculty, in which he had more than common success, though he was a perfect humorist.§

1715.—Jan. 5. A proclamation for dissolving the Parliament, and the speedy calling another. Quickly after, was published a traitorous libel, entitled "English advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain," and industriously dispersed in great numbers. The Go-

* Yet the "Attempt," does not appear to have procured for the author any high estimation among the clergy of his own Church.—Ed.

† "Wherein the Whigs and Dissenters are vindicated from the many aspersions cast upon them in the said Preface." See "Monthly Repos." (1809) iv. 251.—Ed.

‡ See "The Church and the Dissenters compared as to persecution, in some remarks on Dr. Walker's Attempt, 1719."—Ed.

§ Besides the generous provision he made for his relations and servants, he by will bequeathed 5000*l.* to University College, where he was first educated; 40,000*l.* to the University of Oxford, for building them a library; 150*l.* per annum to the Keeper of it, and 100*l.* for buying books into it perpetually; 600*l.* per annum for maintaining two travelling Fellows of the Profession of Physic; and as much left to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in Smithfield, for mending their diet, and for buying linen; together with other considerable benefactions.—C.

See "Dr. Radcliffe's Life and Letters," (1736,) pp. 77-81; "Foreigner's Companion," (1748) pp. 31, 51.—Ed.

vernment issued out a proclamation, dated Jan. 11. offering 1000*l.* to any that should discover to one of the Secretaries of State, the author or authors, and 500*l.* the printer or printers, so that such author or printer might be prosecuted according to law. Jan. 15, the King signed a proclamation for a new Parliament.

Jan. 20. A day of thanksgiving for the King's happy and peaceable accession. His Majesty, with the Prince and Princess, and a numerous attendance went to St. Paul's. The sermon was preached by Dr. Willis, bishop of Gloucester.

My honoured mother died in March, this year, at Bath, where, in the company of Lady Levet, she had spent some time. I took a journey to fetch her corpse to town, agreeably to her desire; and a melancholy journey it was. But when I found myself most mournful, this thought refreshed me, that I was paying a decent respect to her that brought me into the world, and then devoted me to God, and bred me up with the utmost tenderness and care for him and his service. After travelling three days thither, and spending three days in my return, I met our relations at the entrance of the town, and carried my mother's corpse to Aldermanbury churchyard, where I buried her near my father.

About this time I printed three sermons I had preached at Salter's Hall, entitled "God's concern for his glory in the British Isles, and the security of Christ's Church from the gates of Hell." Prefixing my good friend the Lady Levet's name, a passage

in my dedication* was animadverted on from the press, with very little reason, as far as I could judge.

March 17. The new Parliament met. Spencer Compton, Esq. was chosen Speaker by the Commons, and the King's Speech to the two Houses was read by the Lord Chancellor.† His Majesty therein complained of the precariousness of the peace, the Pretender's continuing in Lorraine, and threatening disturbance here; that a great part of the trade of the nation was rendered impracticable; and that the public debts were so great, and so surprisingly increased, even since the fatal cessation of arms, &c. The two Houses made very loyal addresses, and were graciously received.

The same day died Bishop Burnet, of Sarum, at the age of seventy-two. He was as much hated by the High Church and Jacobites, as any person what-

* On her "Ladyship's remarkable steadiness in opposition to ecclesiastical impositions, joined with a visible concern for real holiness, a catholic spirit, and a hearty affection to all without distinction, that are for pure and undefiled religion."

This must have been the passage, in connection with the memorable date "August 1." The rest of the Dedication is entirely occupied with affectionate recollections of the author's lately deceased parent, and of "the intimate friendship" she had through life enjoyed with Lady Levet, all very happily expressed. To the sermons are annexed several learned historical notes on Church-authority and Church-government.—Ed.

† Owing, no doubt, to the King's imperfect acquaintance with the English language. George III. in his first speech, 1760, congratulated himself on having been "born a Briton."—Ed.

soever. Dr. Atterbury, in his "Rights, Powers, and Privileges of an English Convocation,"* says, "he is observed, throughout his works, wherever the interest of his order is concerned, to be under no degree of partiality to them." The meaning I take to be, that he was for calling a spade a spade. He was succeeded by Dr. Talbot, Bishop of Oxford, and Dean of Worcester. Dr. Potter, Chaplain to his Majesty, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was nominated Bishop of that city, in Dr. Talbot's room.

Bishop Burnet's third volume of "the History of the Reformation" was published this year, in folio. In the preface† he says, "I have observed, in a course of some years, that many who profess great zeal for the national establishment, yet seem to be set on forming a new scheme, both of religion and government; and are taking the very same methods, only a little diversified, that have been pursued in Popery, to bring the world to a blind dependence on the clergy, and to draw the wealth and strength of the nation into their hands." Which is too evident to be denied.

March 26. Lord Bolingbroke went off privately for France.‡

April 22. The most remarkable eclipse of the sun, in our times, or for a long while before. In the

* Ed. 2, p. 130.—C. † Pp. 11, 12.—C.

‡ "The reason he gives, in a letter left behind him, was, a resolution taken to pursue him to the scaffold." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 47. See his "Letter to Windham," pp. 90–95.—Ed.

midst of it, there was an universal darkness, for a short season,* and a damp upon men's spirits; and the whole inferior creation round about us, seemed to have a sort of an aguish fit.† This created much discourse, and many remarks were made upon it.

May 19. Died Charles Earl of Halifax, as remarkable as any one for his gratitude to King William, and zeal for the House of Hanover. He expected to have been made Lord Treasurer by King George, but was carried off by death before he compassed that honour. His life was published in an octavo volume.

June 9. Mr. Walpole, from the Committee of Secresy, acquainted the Commons he had a report to present, but before he read it, must make a motion that some persons might be secured, without being in a capacity of knowing, with any certainty, what they were to be examined to. Mr. Speaker immediately issued out his warrant to take into custody several persons named by Mr. Walpole, particularly

* "Three minutes thirteen seconds." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 47.—Ed.

† "The stars appeared, and the birds and other animals seemed to be in great consternation." This "total eclipse" began "about nine in the morning." *Ibid.*

In "Memoirs of himself, by Mr. John Fox of Plymouth," published from his *autograph*, in 1821, he says, speaking of his residence in London, 1715, "I saw the planet Mercury through a telescope in Moorfields, during the total darkness of that grand eclipse." See "Monthly Repos." xvi. 195.—Ed.

Mr. Matthew Prior* and Mr. Thomas Harley.† One of them was presently apprehended, and the other some hours after. The report was afterwards read in the House, from one in the afternoon to half-past eight. The rest was deferred till the next morning.‡

Next day, it was resolved to impeach Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, and Robert Earl of Oxford, of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanours. The day after, it was resolved to impeach Thomas Earl of Strafford of high crimes and misdemeanours.§ The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, having withdrawn themselves, were also attainted of high treason.

July 15. An account was given to the Commons of several meeting-houses pulled down by the mob, in the county of Stafford, by Mr. Bayly, a gentleman of that country, just come from thence.‖ Upon this, the House presented an address to his Majesty;

* "On the 17th, Mr. Prior was ordered into close custody, and that no person should be permitted to see him, without leave from the Speaker." See "His Own Time," (1740) p. 459.—Ed.

† See *supra*, pp. 241, 251.—Ed.

‡ *Chron. Hist.* ii. 49.—Ed.

§ "Which impeachments were agreed to upon very slender evidence." *Ibid.*—Ed.

‖ "Aug. 3. The mob demolished the pulpit, pews, &c. in a meeting at Nun-Eaton, Warwickshire; as they did at Oxford, and several parts of England." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 50.—Ed.

the bringing in and the presenting it, both voted *nemine contradicente.* His Majesty told the House, in answer, that "he would give immediate direction for putting in execution what they so justly recommended to him," as to the "sufferers in the said disorders." A strict Act soon after passed for the preventing tumults; but as for the money to repair the damages sustained, it was not reached without abundance of difficulty.

One thing that helped to occasion it, was the rebellion that broke out, soon after, in North Britain. In a speech to the two Houses, July 20, the King acquainted them that he had certain intelligence of the preparations of the Pretender for an invasion, as well as assurances that the disaffected party at home were encouraged by expecting it. Both Houses gave the utmost assurances of standing by and supporting his Majesty.

Accordingly, an Act passed to empower the King to secure and detain persons suspected of conspiring against his person and government. Directions were immediately given for such an increase of forces by land and sea, as was thought necessary for our security at home; and a demand was made from the Dutch of six thousand men, according to their late treaty of guaranty, and a squadron of men-of-war, if needed, which was readily complied with.

Sir George Byng had the command of the fleet, which was ordered to rendezvous in the Downs. A camp was formed in Hyde Park by General Cado-

gan ;* and the trained bands were kept in a fit posture to suppress riots and tumults. Such were the discoveries made, and the diligence used, that the heads of the conspirators were taken into custody, before they had time to put themselves into a posture to prevent it, or had the least intimation that their designs were detected. Newcastle was secured, and Bristol† and Bath, (where were found eleven

* "I saw," says Mr. John Fox, "all the guards, both horse and foot, encamped in Hyde Park, with a regular train of artillery; and several reviews by his Majesty." See "Monthly Repos." xvi. 195.—Ed.

† Where "several persons, who, under pretence of being members of the Royal Society, carried on treasonable designs, were secured. Amongst them, Mr. Hart, a merchant, was charged for having gathered great quantities of warlike stores, for the use of the disaffected."

There was "another design, 1715–16. The Duke of Ormond intended to put himself at the head of a body of discontents, who, under pretence of repairing to Bristol fair, designed to make themselves masters of that famous city.

"The night between the 14th and 15th of January, a waggon laden with goods for Bristol fair, being, by accident, set on fire at Hounslow, there was discovered in it a great quantity of fire-arms and ammunition lying under the goods. Upon which, the same were seized by a trooper of the Duke of Argyle's royal regiment of guards." See the "History of the late Rebellion. By the Rev. Robert Patten, formerly chaplain to Mr. Forster," (1717) ii. 125, 127.

This clergyman's patron, who was M.P. for Northumberland, narrowly escaped the halter and the knife of the executioner, by a timely flight from Newgate, (*Ibid.* i. 139, 140). His chaplain had no inclination to "fall, uncourtly, with a falling court." On

chests of fire-arms, and other military preparations,* together with Plymouth† and Oxford. In the last of these places, as well as at Bath, several conspirators were taken, though Colonel Owen escaped. A number of gentlemen, (some members of Parliament) were secured in other parts. A plot was also laid at Edinburgh, by some of the Pretender's friends, with others in the Castle, to betray that strong place into his hands. But it was discovered, in the very nick of time, and a person taken, as laying a ladder of ropes, that the plotters without might be drawn up by those within.

Now there was a new run of addresses from all parts of the nation, against the Pretender. Though such applications have at all times been common enough, yet they were hardly ever so numerous as on this occasion. It was observed, that there was not a county or corporation, nor scarce a society of

the trial of his associates, in "the late Rebellion," he "became an evidence for the King," whose "most gracious clemency and mercy" he displays against "some, so ungenerous, that they upbraid his Majesty with cruelty." *Preface.*—Ed.

* "A hogshead, full of basket-hilted swords, and another of cartouches, and three pieces of cannon, one mortar, and moulds to cast cannon, which had been hid in the ground." *Patten*, ii. 126.—Ed.

† "I have heard Mr. Buxton [see *infra*, p. 326] say, he had been taking a view of this port, and Portsmouth; and had counted how many cannon were mounted in each. At this time, some in Cornwall had the insolence to proclaim the Pretender at St. Columbe." *Ibid.* p. 127.—Ed.

people of any public kind, through his Majesty's dominions, but what addressed and signified their readiness to stand by and support his Majesty against the Pretender and all his abettors. Among the rest, a few of the Dissenting ministers, in and about London and Westminster, in the name of the whole body of the three denominations, waited upon his Majesty.*

* August 16, (1715) with the Address following:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"We, your Majesty's most loyal subjects think ourselves obliged in duty and gratitude humbly to acknowledge that seasonable protection which your Majesty has been pleased to give to those of our persuasion from the late rebellious tumults; and for your gracious answer to the address of your faithful Commons, wherein they desire that a full compensation be made to those whose sufferings they so justly impute to their zeal and firm adherence to your Majesty and your government.

"We can assure your Majesty, that no just occasion has been given by us to our fellow-subjects for any such treatment; nor can the principles which oblige us to dissent from the Church of England, be a reasonable provocation to any, who have the least regard to the common rights of mankind, or the rules of the Christian religion.

"We desire nothing more than to enjoy our civil rights with a just liberty to profess our own religious sentiments, which we take to be a privilege due to all men. We have been always ready to assist the Church of England, in defence of the Protestant religion, when in real and imminent danger; being agreed with them and all Protestant Churches, in those principles that began the Reformation, and which alone can justify and support it.

"When there has been a design to introduce Popery and Arbitrary Power, the Protestant Dissenters have generally been

This address was presented by Mr. Hodges, a preacher among the Baptists, no one of which denomination had, till then, appeared at Court, at the head of the body of Dissenters, since those of the three per-

first attacked; nor know we any other reason why we have now suffered the outrage of Papists, Nonjurors, and other disaffected persons, but that they were sure we were a body of men fixed in our duty to your Majesty, and the most exposed to popular insults, against which your Majesty and your two Houses of Parliament, in your great wisdom and goodness, have given us a seasonable, and, we hope, effectual security for time to come.

"Whilst your Majesty's government is disturbed at home, and threatened with an invasion from abroad, we can answer for those of our persuasion, that there are not any of them whose principles and inclinations will not influence them to assist and support your Majesty and the Protestant religion, to the utmost of their power. We look upon ourselves bound, by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and interest, to acknowledge and maintain your Majesty's undoubted right and title to the Imperial crown of these realms, and to declare our utmost abhorrence of all attempts, either at home or abroad, in favour of a Popish Pretender.

"May that gracious Providence, which has so signally appeared in bringing your Majesty to the throne of these kingdoms, continue to protect and defend your royal person and family, against all attempts of your open and secret enemies."

His Majesty was pleased to return a most gracious answer, in these words:

"I am very much concerned at the unchristian and barbarous treatment which those of your persuasion have met with in several parts of my kingdom; and care shall be taken that a full compensation be made to them for their sufferings. I thank you for this dutiful and loyal address; and you may be assured of my protection."—C.

suasions had agreed to address jointly.* They were introduced by the Duke of Newcastle. Mr. Hodges, some years after, was knighted, and made a Justice of Peace in Surrey. Upon this attending of five Baptist preachers at Court, "The Weekly Journal," a Tory paper, made some unhandsome reflections, representing them as "illiterate tradesmen," &c. seeming to insinuate how unworthy such men were of the King's regard. An answer had been easy,† but it was not thought worth while to take any public notice of it.

Aug. 2. Ingrossed articles of Impeachment against Lord Oxford were carried up to the Lords, by Lord Coningsby; on the 6th, by Mr. Walpole, against

* See vol. i. p. 460. "The Body," says a modern periodical critic, "is somewhat courtly; very attentive to the Royal family, and loyally observant of all great events in its history.

"When princes or princesses are born, marry, or die, up goes the Body with a dutiful address of congratulation, or condolence, as the case may be. All the Members are admitted to kiss hands; and such is the influence of earthly splendours, on those, who, for the first time, gaze on palaces and Kings, that, in some cases, the conversation, in congregational visitings, is said to be less spiritual than usual, for many a week after.

"There was, indeed, a Queen who was not addressed. The Body was lethargic. She had lost her daughter; she had acceded *de jure* to the throne; but the Body would neither condole nor congratulate. It is true, the Address was delayed, not negatived. Still there was no Address. This was a singular case." See "Monthly Repos." N. S. (1829) iii. 428.—Ed.

† Dr. Gale, then living in England, and Van Dale, lately deceased in Holland, both literary friends of Le Clerc, might have served to redeem the reputation of Baptists.—Ed.

Lord Bolingbroke; and on the 7th by Mr. Stanhope, against the Duke of Ormond. Sept. 1. The like was done against Thomas, Earl of Strafford, by Mr. Aislaby. Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond, being searched for, but not to be found, were attainted in two several acts, which were brought into the House of Commons, finished there, carried up to the Lords, read three times, passed, and received the Royal assent in less than ten days, between the 11th and the 20th of August. Both had time given them to the 10th of September, to come in and surrender, or otherwise to remain attainted.

The Earl of Marr, who at first offered his service to King George, now began a rebellion against him. He wrote an artful letter to his Majesty, dated "Aug. 30, 1714, o. s." desiring him not to credit any misrepresentation, which party hatred might possibly make of him, but to accept him for as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant, as ever any of his family had been to the Crown, or himself to his late mistress, the Queen.*

Thinking himself slighted, because not presently accepted, he now retired privately from Westminster, got into North Britain, and at his seat at Kildrummy, had a large meeting, Aug. 16, this year, and gave them that were present upon his summons,† a

* See this letter at length in Patten's "Hist. of the late Rebellion," ii. 2–4.—Ed.

† "He made for a pretence, a great hunting. On these occasions all the people round the country, being well armed, assemble

warm exhortation to appear in arms for King James VIII. assuring them, that there would be a general rising in South Britain upon the same foot, and that they should have considerable assistance from France. He showed them, under the Pretender's own hand, letters from Lorraine, that promised his appearance in person, and a Commission to himself, as Lieutenant-General, and Commander-in-Chief. The proposal was agreed to, and they went home to make preparation, and promised to appear in arms, when they had news from his Lordship, that all things were ready.

A sudden stroke of Providence now made way for great alterations all over Europe. Aug. 21. O. S. and Sep. 1, N. S. died the King of France, that great Monarch, who appeared to be raised up, by Divine Providence, to be a scourge to all his neighbours, and to mortify all the Powers of Europe. By his land force and naval strength, and, much more, by his subtle counsels and great successes, he had for many years kept these parts of the world in awe, and at length quitted this earthly stage, upon which he had made such a figure, at the age of 77. By his death, the Protestant interest, and the liberties of all these western parts were not only delivered from their most dreadful enemy, but, perhaps, escaped the most formidable design that ever was laid against them; for he was at the head of a new Catholic league, much stronger and better cemented than the

upon the day appointed, and after the diversion is over, the persons of note are invited to an entertainment." *Ibid.* p. 5.—ED.

old one; the Protestant powers being, by the late peace, very much incapacitated to make any great opposition.

His death had a great influence here in Britain, as well as his whole life foregoing. It very much puzzled the counsels of the Jacobites, and spoiled their projects. But the terror of their own guilt and their dread of punishment made them desperate. His death hindered them of those great supplies of ammunition, small arms, artillery, warlike stores, and officers, which in twelve large ships, and other frigates of good force were provided, and ready for them at the ports of Havre de Grace, St. Maloes, and other places on the coast of France, but were stopped by the influence of the Earl of Stair, who went this year our ambassador into that kingdom. There he behaved himself with great wisdom in a critical juncture, and had free access to the Duke of Orleans, who became Regent upon the death of King Louis.*

It was observed of this mighty and formidable prince, that though he made a great figure in his life, yet he died by degrees, and had the mortification of laying many of his descendants (in the great

* "Sir George Byng," says Bolingbroke, "had come into the road of Havre, and had demanded by name, several ships which belonged to us, to be given up to him. The Regent did not think proper to let him have the ships; but he ordered them to be unloaded, and their cargoes were put into the King's magazines." See "Letter to Windham," p. 158.—Ed.

number of which he took so much pride) in their graves. At his decease, he left the kingdom of France embarrassed with factions, as well ecclesiastical as political, exhausted of money, and overwhelmed with debts, which, it is said, amounted to three hundred millions sterling. It cannot be denied, but he did many brave actions, encouraged men of learning,* and greatly advanced many Arts and Sciences. Yet it may be justly questioned, whether there ever was a man on earth that did more mischief, in a single life, than he. But when he died, his thoughts all perished. A true and faithful account of his life (could such a thing be had) would be as instructive a piece of modern history, as any that could be thought of.†

* For which he was thus celebrated by Swift, at the expense of British royalty, probably, with more of the writer's abounding wit and virulence than of merited censure.

"On the Bustos in Queen Caroline's Grotto:
Louis the living genius fed,
And raised the scientific head;
Our Queen, more frugal of her meat,
Raises the heads, that cannot eat."

Thus retorted,

"Our Queen, more anxious to be just
Than flatter'd, rears the living bust,
To those among the learned tribe,
Whom, Louis-like, she cannot bribe."—*Festoon*, pp. 55, 56.—Ed.

† "The Memoirs of Louis XIV. written by himself, and addressed to his Son," and his "Correspondence with Philip V., his Grandson," (see Vol. I. p. 431,) from the originals in the

It plainly appears, by his last will and testament, that has been sufficiently published, that he had the vanity to imagine and expect, that his pleasure declared would be taken for the rule of government in his kingdom, after his death, as well as it was in his life-time. But the event has proved him to have been under a great mistake. The Parliament of Paris took upon them to set aside and cross his Will in several material articles; as in making the Duke of Orleans sole Regent, and in abating and diminishing the power which the deceased King had allowed to his bastard sons, &c.* Whether the absolute conjunction of France and Spain, after which he so much aspired, and which, before he left this world, he thought as good as accomplished, and took so much care to secure, strengthen, and perpetuate, will not in the event be effectually disappointed, crossed and prevented, must be left to time to discover.

As to the North Britons, that were tumultuously disposed, they were not aware of the fate of their

Royal Library, were published at the beginning of this century, (the most interesting parts "in Louis's own hand-writing") and translated into English, 1806.

These documents certainly discover, in the long reign of a dissolute and vain-glorious monarch, some lucid intervals, "spots of azure in a cloudy sky," when he appeared capable of serious business; of a rational regard to the moral and intellectual advancement of his family, and of sober reflection on the high duties of a royal condition.—Ed.

* See *supra*, p. 267.—Ed.

great patron, on whom they had their chief dependance,* when they began their Rebellion. Lord Mar summoned his confidents to a general meeting at Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, September 30. October 6th he set up the Pretender's standard; (being attended with about 2000 men, most of them horse) and proclaimed him King. The same was done in other places. At length, their forces, amounted to 6000. King George, instead of sending forces Northwards to oppose them immediately, was rather advised to send troops to the west and south-west, to Bristol, Bath, Shrewsbury, Oxford, and Exeter, that England might not be exposed to insurrections, of which the Court was the more apprehensive, upon its being discovered that there was a far more dangerous conspiracy than that in the North, carried on here, and which was to break out, in a little time.

The Habeas Corpus Bill was suspended for six months, and a great number of persons, members of Parliament and others, were seized and confined. General Wightman was ordered to post himself at Stirling, and, at last, other forces were ordered for North Britain. But there was first an insurrection

* "When I arrived at Paris," says Bolingbroke, "the King was already gone to Marly, where the indisposition, which he had begun to feel at Versailles, increased upon him. He was the best friend the Chevalier had; and when I engaged in this business, my principal dependance was on his personal character. My hopes sunk as he declined, and died when he expired." See "Letter to Windham," pp. 138, 139.—Ed.

in Northumberland, under the direction of the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster,* notwithstanding the risings intended in other counties were prevented. The Northumbrian rebels, joined with some Highlanders from Lord Mar (which body under the command of Brigadier Mackintosh, an old experienced officer,† bid very fair for taking the City of

* "October 7. They marched to Warkworth. Here, on Sunday morning, Mr. Forster, who now styled himself General, sent Mr. Buxton, their chaplain, to Mr. Ion, the parson of the parish, with orders for him to pray for the Pretender as King; and in the Litany, for Mary, Queen-Mother, and all the dutiful branches of the Royal Family; and to omit the usual names of King George, the Prince, and Princess.

"Mr. Ion, wisely declining, Mr. Buxton took possession of the church, read prayers and preached. Meanwhile, the parson went to Newcastle, to consult his own safety, and acquaint the Government with what happened." See "History of the late Rebellion," pp. 25, 26.

Mr. Buxton's dispossessing "the parson" of Warkworth, appears a close imitation of Burnet's chasing "the priests and vicars" from the Cathedral of Exeter, by his politico-theological exhibition, in 1688, (See vol. i. p. 193, *note*) though with a *finale*, strikingly contrasted; for, according to a facetious definition, attributed to John Wilkes, "a successful attempt is a Revolution; but an unsuccessful one, a Rebellion."—Ed.

† Mr. Patten, relating the arrival of his party at Kelso, when, "crossing the Tweed, though very deep at that time, and rapid, they entered the town," adds:

"The Highlanders came into the town, presently after, from the Scots' side, with their bag-pipes playing, led by old Macintosh; but they made a very indifferent figure. The rain, and their long marches had extremely fatigued them, though their

Edinburgh by the way) marched into Lancashire, were joined by some Papists in those parts, and, at length, surrounded in the town of Preston,. by General Wills, to whom Lord Carpenter came up, who took them all prisoners,* except a few killed in an engagement, Sunday, November 13.

In order to the breaking the measures of the English conspirators, the Government secured all such gentlemen as were informed against. Nor did they take their aim wrong, as appeared when the Duke of Ormond, not satisfied with reports, came in

old Brigadier, who marched at the head of them, appeared very well.

"Next day (Sunday, Oct. 23) Lord Kenmure ordered me to preach at the great Kirk of Kelso. Mr. Buxton read prayers, and I preached on *Deut.* xxi. 17,' the right of the first-born is his.' All the Protestant lords, with a vast multitude of Papists attended, who have since told me, they approved very well of our liturgy, which, till then, they never heard.

"Next morning the Pretender was proclaimed," as "James VIII. lawful heir and son of the late King James VII. Then was read the Manifesto by the noblemen, gentlemen, and others," which had been prepared by "the Earl of Mar." At the conclusion, "the people, with loud acclamations, shouted No Union! no Malt! no Salt-tax!" See "Hist. of the late Rebellion," pp. 38–48.—Ed.

* "Seven Lords, besides 1490 others, gentlemen, officers and private men, and two clergymen. A Popish priest, called Littleton, put on a blue apron, went behind an apothecary's counter, and passed for an assistant or journeyman to the apothecary, and so took an opportunity of getting off." *Ibid.* p. 132.—Ed.

a ship, to the Western Coast, where, to his no small mortification, he saw the tranquillity of the public, and the imprisonment of his friends.*

A paper was published, about this time (1715,) entitled "A Declaration of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops in and near London," testifying their abhorrence of this Rebellion, with an exhortation to the clergy and the people under their care, to be zealous in the discharge of their duties to his Majesty King George. It was signed by fourteen Bishops; but Dr. Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. Smalridge, Bishop of Bristol, (supposed to be influenced by the former,) refused to sign it.

This Declaration was afterwards sent by the Bishop of Worcester, enclosed in a letter dated November 14, (and printed in "the Daily Courant,") to all the clergy of his diocese. He signified his own hearty concurrence, and requested them to read the said declaration in their churches and chapels; giving it as his judgment, that no one could be a hearty well-wisher, or true friend to the Church, that was not with equal zeal and affection disposed to do all he could, to preserve and secure the happy establishment of the State.

* The Duke of Powys, and the Earls of Jersey and Scarsdale, were confined; and six of their members, viz. Lord Duplin (son in law to the Earl of Oxford,) Sir William Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Edward Harvey of Coomb, John Anstis, and Corbet Kynaston, Esquires, were committed with the consent of the House of Commons.—C.

The Dissenters, in the time of this Rebellion, prayed heartily for the Government,* cheerfully contributed to the support of it, and did all that lay in their power, to excite and encourage others to do so; and could not, any of them, be justly charged with the least backwardness to stand by and assist his Majesty; and, wherever they had opportunity, they opposed his enemies with the utmost vigour and resolution. We had a famous instance in Mr. Wood, a Dissenting minister, at Chowbent in Lancashire, who carried four hundred men with him to join General Wills at Preston, all volunteers, well armed and furnished, and all Dissenters, ready to hazard their lives and all that was dear to them against the rebels.

Sir Henry Houghton† and General Wills much commended their readiness for service, and the seasonableness of their appearance, which they declared was highly acceptable. To the honour of Mr. Wood (who has been pleasantly called General Wood ever since,) it ought to be remembered, that he not only

* "On the Scotch Rebellion," says Mr. John Fox, "all ministers were required to take the usual oaths afresh. I went into the Court of Exchequer, among the rest, and after swearing, signed my name to the indenture as they did."

This appears, also, to have been "the common step taken" by students, "after having been examined" for the ministry, among the Nonconformists. See "Monthly Repos," xvi. 195. —Ed.

† M. P. for Preston. See "History of the late Rebellion," pp. 92—94.—Ed.

ventured his life with them, but paid and subsisted that whole body of four hundered men out of his own pocket,* (at least, all such of them as could not bear their own expense,) that they might keep together for any service that might offer, while there was any danger in view. Whether a few airy compliments was a suitable return for such an instance of zeal is left to the world to judge.

November 13. The same day that the rebels were beat at Preston, the Earl of Mar and the King's forces had an engagement near Dumblain in North Britain, in which the Duke of Argyle got the advantage, though Mar had the greatest number of forces. It was said by some, that there was a mistake in that day's action; for though our right wing got the better, where Argyle was engaged, and pursued the enemy some miles, yet our left wing was pushed back, in some confusion, to the town of Stirling,† which place, together with the castle and bridge,

* Some former, and probably early, possessor of the MS. has placed a query in the margin, I know not on what authority, on this part of my author's statement.—Ed.

† See "M. Gen. Wightman's Account of the Battle," dated "Sterling, Nov. 14, 1715, at eleven at night," in Patten's "Hist. of the late Rebellion," pp. 45—49. The General in his postscript is thus honourably observant of merit in a foe:—

"I must do the enemy that justice to say, I never saw regular troops more exactly drawn up, in line of battle, and that in a moment; and their officers behaved with all the gallantry imaginable. It will be of the last danger to the Government, if we have not force to destroy them soon."—Ed.

had been easily taken. However, by this battle, the heart of the Rebellion was broke, and the Earl of Mar baulked in his design.

A Parliament was now called in Ireland, and opened at Dublin, by Lord Galway and the Duke of Grafton, the two new Lords Justices. In their first speech to the two Houses, after a great commendation of the King and his Government, they intimated how desirable it would be, for an end to be put to all other distinctions, but that of Protestant and Papist. Pursuant hereunto, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, to exempt Protestant Dissenters from the penalty of former laws, for serving in the militia, when thereunto called by lawful authority. One of the reasons given for this bill was, that in some parts of the kingdom there would not have been found proper officers enough to command the militia, if the Dissenters continued to be excluded. Which showed the strange spirit some were possessed with, that they would rather be themselves exposed, than not exclude such as they had an ill will against.

December. A pamphlet was thrown about (supposed to have been written by Lesley,)* as an answer to the declaration of the Bishops, full of scandalous reflections upon the Government and its hearty supporters.

December 9. The prisoners taken at Preston were brought up to London, in a sort of triumph, and met by vast crowds of people at Highgate. They

* See *supra*, pp. 2, 3, *note*.—Ed.

passed through Kentish-Town, to the Pound at St. Giles's, and so through Great Russel-street, where many of the nobility and gentry stood to see them pass along.* Each prisoner (they were two hundred and more,) had his arms tied down with a cord,† and his horse led by a soldier. There was very little pity or compassion showed them, by the spectators, on account of the mischief they designed and intended. But great were the acclamations of the people, who cried out for King George, and against High Church and Popery, and the Pretender. Some of them were committed to the Tower, others to Newgate, and others to the Fleet and the Marshalsea.‡

* These "nobility and gentry," including, probably, the gentler sex, appear to have followed an example of curiosity scarcely deserving their imitation. Mrs. Hutchinson, describing the detention of "the late King's judges" in 1660, adds,

"I cannot forgett one passage that I saw. Monke, and his wife, before they were moved to the Tower, while they were yett prisoners, at Lambeth House, came one evening to the garden, and caused them to be brought downe, only to stare at them." *Memoirs*, (1810) ii. 270.—Ed.

† I know not whether this severity may be justified, by some expectation of an attempt to rescue. Mr. Patten says:—

"Mr. Forster thought still to have been released by a Tory mob, and told me, that he had assurances thereof from a gentleman at Highgate." See "History of the late Rebellion," p. 137.—Ed.

‡ "From Daventry to London," says Mr. Patten, "Mr. Forster and I were distinguished from the rest; being led by two troopers, with halters upon our horses' heads, which gave

December 14. Dr. Tennison, Archbishop of Canterbury, died at Lambeth, aged 81. He was a very

the people, as we passed along, an opportunity to compliment us with encomiums upon a warming-pan." *Ibid.* p. 136.

This nurse's tale, which now provoked the unceremonious greetings of this anti-jacobite mob, called "the people," is thus minutely recorded, by Bishop Burnet, whose pen, happily for his own fame and his readers' information, was not always such a fond and credulous partisan.

"The Queen lay all the while a-bed, and in order to warm one side of it, a warming-pan was brought." The Historian objects that this mysterious utensil, now a great political agent, "was not opened, that it might be seen that there was fire and nothing else in it;" as if the Infant-Pretender might have accompanied the live coals, like a salamander, or, perhaps, carefully swaddled in fire-proof linen of *asbestos*.

"So here was matter for suspicion, with which all people were filled." See "Own Time," i. 752. Thus, "a gift," whether a coronet, or a mitre, "blindeth the wise;" and thus:—

"Trifles light as air
Are to the jealous,"

and equally to the prejudiced or the deluded,

"Confirmation strong
As proofs of holy writ."

Mr. Patten thus proceeds on his dreary journey towards the metropolis.

"At Barnet, we were all pinioned. At Highgate, we were met with a strong detachment of horse-grenadiers, and foot-guards, each man having his horse led by one of the foot. Setting forward, we were met by such numbers of people, that it is scarce conceivable to express, who with 'Long live King George and down with the Pretender!' ushered us, throughout, to our several apartments."

At

steady man. As he had; all along, been firm to the succession of the family of Hanover, so his living to officiate at the coronation of King George I. was much to his satisfaction.* Had he died in the reign of Queen Anne (as many expected) it was generally thought that Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, would have succeeded him.† But this was what God in mercy prevented.

This upright Archbishop was more honoured and respected, even by the Dissenters than by many of the Established Church. Yet his zeal for the Church appears sufficiently great, by a codicil added to his last will and testament, by which he ordered his executors to pay to "the Society for Propagating the Gospel, within one month, or two at the farthest, after the appointment and consecration by lawful authority, of two Protestant Bishops, one for the

At the conclusion of this "sort of triumph," over brave, though vanquished enemies, the patron and his chaplain were lodged in Newgate. "Mr. Forster understood that Gordon, Carr, and Dorel were executed a day before, and their quarters were then in a box, just by, in order to be set upon the gates, so that he could not eat with his then unhappy companion." See "History of the late Rebellion," pp. 136, 137.

An anonymous contemporary asks: "Will it be a delightful prospect, to the Royal Family, to have the heads and limbs of their subjects thrown in their eyes, as they pass through their dominions?" See "An Argument to prove the affections of the people of England, the best security of the Government," (1716) pp. 21, 22; "Monthly Repos." xvi. 275; Diary of Burton, ii. 474, 475, *note*.—Ed.

* See *supra*, p. 301.—Ed. † See *supra*, p. 270.—Ed.

Continent, and another for the Isles in North America, the sum of 1,000*l.* to be applied in equal portions to the settlement of such bishops in the foremention[ed] sees;"* declaring it to be his sense, in

* This bequest was noticed in an anonymous pamphlet (attributed to Archbishop Secker) on the appointment of Bishops for the provinces of British America. See "An answer to Dr. Mayhew's Observations," (1764) p. 62.

Among "successive proposals for American Bishops," was one "in 1750, by Bishop Butler." It consisted of four articles, all wisely calculated to prevent or allay anti-episcopalian jealousy.

"I. No coercive power over the laity, in any case: only a power to regulate the behaviour of the clergy, in episcopal orders, and to correct and punish, according to the law of the Church of England, in case of misbehaviour or neglect of duty.

"II. Nothing in the least to interfere with the dignity or authority, or interest of the Governor, or any other Officer of State. Probates of wills, licence for marriages, &c. to be left in the hands where they are; and no share in the temporal Government, desired for Bishops.

"III. The maintenance of such Bishops not to be at the charge of the Colonies.

"IV. No Bishops to be settled in places, where the Government is in the hands of Dissenters, as in New England, &c.; only authority to ordain Clergy for Church of England congregations, to inspect the manners and behaviour, of the said Clergy, and to confirm the members thereof. See Apthorpe's "Review of Dr. Mayhew's Remarks," (1765) p. 55.

There had been, in 1638, a project, as opposite, probably, in its design and tendency, as was the mental temperament of the two episcopal projectors. It has not, I believe, been generally noticed how narrowly America then escaped a prescription from Dr. Laud, that physician to the body politic, whose desperate remedies proved at last too powerful for himself.

His

which he said "many of his brethren concurred with him," that "until such appointment and consecra-

His friend and biographer, Heylin, opines that "New England," (the refuge of the disaffected) "like the spleen in the natural body, by drawing to it so many sullen, sad, and offensive humours, was not unuseful and unserviceable to the general health. But when the spleen is grown too full:—

"To prevent such mischiefs as might thence ensue, it was once under consultation of the chief physicians, who were to take especial care of the Church's health, to send a Bishop over to them, for their better government, and back him with some forces to compel, if he were not otherwise able to persuade obedience.

"But this design was strangled in the first conception by the violent breaking out of the troubles in Scotland." See "*Cyprianus Anglicus*, or the Life and Death of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury," (1671) p. 347.

In 1785, the Episcopalians in the United States assembled by delegation, applied to the Prelates of the Church of England for "the consecration of bishops," thus to provide among themselves a succession.

In the mean time, consulting the recommendations of Burnet, Tillotson, &c. in 1689, and the "Free and Candid Disquisitions," in 1750, they revised the Liturgy, Offices and Articles, reducing the latter to twenty. Of the Creeds, they retained only that called the Apostles', omitting "one clause, being of uncertain meaning," viz. "he descended into hell." They determined on a parity among their bishops, each to be called "Right Reverend," but "as bishop," to "have no other title," nor "any style usually descriptive of power and precedency."

The English prelates returned a very courteous answer, and immediately procured an Act of Parliament, on the authority of which they eventually fulfilled the wishes of their trans-atlantic brethren. With these they prevailed, to restore the Nicene Creed,

tions are completed, there never could, or would be any regular church discipline in those parts, or any confirmations, or due ordinations, or any setting apart in ecclesiastical manner, of any public places, for the more decent worship of God, or any timely preventing or abating of factions and divisions, which have been, and are at present, very rife; no ecclesiastically legal discipline, or corrections of scandalous manners in the clergy or laity; or synodical assemblies, as may be a proper means to regulate ecclesiastical proceedings."

Dec. 15. Died Dr. Hicks,* the author of "Jovian," in answer to Mr. Johnsons's "Julian, the Apostate."† He was one of eminent learning, formerly Dean of Worcester, and, after the Revolution, a non-juror; and never could be prevailed with to take the oaths,

Creed, and the phrase, "he descended into hell." The other formulary, of which the English prelates had advised the restoration, was left, after re-consideration, just as Archbishop Tillotson (see vol. i. p. 469, *note*) would have desired.

"General Convention, Wilmington, Oct. 11, 1786. On the question, shall the Creed commonly called the *Athanasian Creed*, be admitted in the Liturgy? the ayes and nays being taken, it was determined in the negative." See "the Book of Common Prayer, &c. as revised, and proposed to the use of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at a Convention held in Philadelphia, 1785;" Lond. (1789) *passim;* "Journals of Conventions," annexed to "Observations upon the Liturgy. By a Layman of the Church of England, late an Under Secretary of State." (1789,) pp. 103, 126, 177, 205; "Monthly Repos." ii. 647, xiv. 407.—Ed.

* Aged 73. *Gen. Biog. Dict.* vii. 89—96.—Ed.

† See vol. i. pp. 93, 94.—Ed.

either to King William, Queen Anne, or King George; though we are told,* that "he once intended and designed it." He at length ran to that height, that he was encouraged by some of the deprived bishops to assume the title of Suffragan of Thetford. After their decease, he made himself the principle of orthodox unity, and Jacobite loyalty, condemning the Established Church of England as schismatical, the Civil Government as tyranny and usurpation, the bench of Bishops and all other Clergy as of invalid orders, their ministration of the sacraments as null and void, and their very prayers a sin. Of what extravagance is not a man capable if he is left to himself!

December 18. Dr. Wake, Bishop of Lincoln, was nominated to the See of Canterbury. A little after, Dr. Gibson, Archdeacon of Surry, was made Bishop of Lincoln; Mr. Benjamin Hoadley, rector of Streatham in Surry, being about the same time made Bishop of Bangor.†

December 28. Died Mr. William Carstaires, Principal of the College of Edinburgh,‡ whose death was an unspeakable loss to North Britain; and particularly to that university.§ In May this year, he

* In "the Life of Bishop Kennett," in which there is a pretty large account of him," pp. 12, &c. 34, 160.—C.

† See *supra*, p. 226.—Ed. ‡ See *supra*, p. 185.—Ed.

§ Some few brief hints towards his character may be met with in the Preface to his nephew, Mr. William Dunlop's, first volume of sermons, printed at Edinburgh, 1722.—C.

had been Moderator of the general Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in which station he shone with a peculiar lustre. In Lockhart's "Memoirs,"* this worthy person is styled "a rebellious Presbyterian preacher," and accused of acting in concert with the Duke of Queensbury," and others, "to frame such a plot, which made a great noise;" and "when lodged upon those they designed it against, should, in all human probability, be their utter ruin and destruction."† But there is nothing like proof produced; and I believe there are none that knew him, but will readily concur with me, that he was a man of that true honour, strict justice, and solid piety, as not to be capable of so vile an action.

Two others also this year (1715) left this world, that should not be forgotten, though they were of very different stations and characters.

Thomas, Marquis of Wharton, Lord Privy Seal, died April 12, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.‡

* Pp. 74–76.—C.

† On which, Lockhart remarks, "that the poet was very much in the right, when he asserted that

"Plots, true or false, are necessary things,
To set up Commonwealths, and ruin Kings."

Ibid. p. 75.—Ed.

‡ After his decease, his Life was published in octavo.—C.

See *supra*, pp. 10, 37 *notes*. This "Life" (probably one of the too numerous biographies for which *post funera virtus* would supply a becoming motto) and the Spectator's dedication, prefixed to his fifth volume, might have deluded Dr. Calamy to bestow his unqualified praise on an unworthy object. Mr. Noble says: "Never

He was an able statesman, and ever zealous for the welfare of his country. Perhaps he was an example of the most public spirit, and as true a lover of his native land, as is to be met with in the British history.

The other was Mr. John Shower. He died June 28,* and was succeeded in his congregation, (who

"Never were excellent abilities more abused, than by this peer. He did not attempt to disguise, but even gloried in vice. He defied its effects, either as to his interest, or to his constitution. Oaths, falsities, and profaneness of every kind, were familiar to him. He exceeded the profligacy of the youngest men. His avarice kept pace with his profligacy: he was venal to excess. In fine, the strength of his constitution, the vigour of his mind, his great wealth and his high honours, were made subservient to very unworthy purposes." See "Biog. Hist." ii. 40, 41.—Ed.

* Aged fifty-eight. His father had been "a merchant with good success in Exeter," of which city his uncle, Sir Bartholomew, was M.P. 1698, to his decease, 1701. He was distinguished "at the bar and in Parliament;" and is mentioned (*Diary*, ii. 317) among the acquaintance of "Henry Earl of Clarendon."

Mr. John Shower, besides a liberal education began in England and completed at Utrecht and Rotterdam, made, in 1683 and 1684, the tour of France, Switzerland, and Italy, during which he collected many valuable books. His companions were "Mr. Barnardiston and Mr. Thomas Goodwin," (see vol. i. p. 325).

"Mr. Shower, accompanied by his fellow-travellers, was so curious and hardy, as to visit the top of the famous hill Vesuvius, and heard a terrible noise issuing from the bowels of the hollow mountain.

"From this scene of horror, he was relieved by another of as

built for him that handsome place of worship in Old Jewry, London,*) by Mr. Simon Browne, and in the

great pleasure, when looking eastward, he had a diffusive view of *Campania Felix*, the garden of Italy, and beheld a wide and fruitful plain, covered with beautiful cities."

He found, however, "the country in the compass of thirty miles about Rome, so dispeopled, that hinds were wanting to cultivate the land, to turn up and till the fields lying neglected and unlaboured, as well as undrained of stagnant and corrupted waters."

At Rome, during the Carnival, "Mr. Shower and his company were invited and admitted gratis to the operas and other dramatic performances in the palace of Prince Colonna."

He was "charmed with the exquisite taste of music in the Italian masters, when he went to the diversions at that Prince's house," and found (*proh pudor!*) "the performances of the stage in Italy, as well as France, less shocking to modest ears than those of Great Britain.

"Neither he nor his fellow-travellers had the curiosity to kiss the Pope's slipper, though he who then wore the triple crown, was very popular, and well spoken of by those of the reformed religion. His name was *Odiscalchi* [Innocent XI.] called by some the Protestant Pope, because he was a friend to the Austrian interest, and opposed the power of France." See "Mem. of Shower. By W. Tong," (1716) pp. 2, 4, 7, 21–43, 45–48. —Ed.

* Pulled down in 1810, the congregation having erected a new chapel, in Jewin Street. From that street, Mr. Shower's congregation had removed in 1701.

"The first stone" of the second "Old Jewry Chapel" (for the name is retained) was laid "Sept. 5, 1808, being St. Bartholomew's day, O.S." by the minister of the congregation.

This was the Rev. Dr. Abraham Rees, (who died 1825, aged eighty-one) long known among Protestant Dissenters, by the influence of his talents and character, his attention to their public Charities,

lecture at Salter's Hall by Mr. Thomas Reynolds. Mr. Browne, after he had officiated for some time as successor to Mr. Shower, was wholly disabled by deep melancholy.*

At the close of this year, the Pretender actually landed in Scotland, sailing in the space of seven days from Dunkirk to Peterhead, where he came ashore with only six gentlemen in his retinue. His friends in North Britain were not a little surprised, to find he did not come well attended; and yet they made him as welcome as they could.† There were,

charities, and his connection with their establishments for liberal education. He is also well known to the world at large, by his *Cyclopædia*, "a lasting monument of his science, talents, judgment, and industry, and the largest contribution from any one individual to the literature of his country."

Thus, deservedly, has Dr. Rees become the companion of Dr. Parr, in the library of the Duke of Sussex, at Kensington Palace, where, in 1826, I observed their portraits, the only specimens of the painter's art which then adorned that magnificent and truly princely collection.

During an instructive and interesting "address on laying the first stone," the venerable minister says: "Mr. Edmund Calamy laid the foundation of our society," (see vol. i. pp. 70, 71.) "by preaching, as often as the spies and myrmidons of power would allow, and frequently at the risque of his own personal safety, in his own house." See "Monthly Repos." (1808) iii. 618–621. v. 36; xv. 624, 704; xx. 372.—Ed.

* See vol. i. p. 348, *note*.—Ed.

† Bolingbroke's account is rather different. "It was Christmas 1715, before the Chevalier sailed for Scotland. The battle of Dumblain had been fought, the business of Preston was over. There remained not the least room to expect any commotion in

about this time, great apprehensions of an invasion in Ireland.

1716. Monday, Jan. 9. The Parliament met, and the King took notice of the continuance of the rebellion in Scotland. He had reason to believe the Pretender was landed there, and that the enemies were animated with secret hopes of assistance. He hoped this open and flagrant attempt in favour of Popery, would abolish all other distinctions, but of zealous asserters of the liberty of their country, the present establishment, and the Protestant religion, and of such as endeavoured to subject the nation to the revenge and tyranny of a Popish Pretender. Neither of the two Houses took any notice of this part of his Majesty's speech in their addresses. But, that very evening, the Commons impeached the Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Nairn, Carnwath, and Kenmure, of high treason. The articles of impeachment against them were introduced by a noble preamble, that gave a general view of the methods and measures of the conspirators for several years past.

Jan. 17. It was resolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a Bill should be brought in to attaint John Earl of Mar, William Murray, Esq. commonly called

his favour, among the English; and many of the Scotch, who had declared for him, began to grow cool in the cause. No prospect of success could engage him in this expedition; but it was become necessary for his reputation." See "Letter to Windham," p. 193.—Ed.

Marquis of Tullibardine, James Earl of Linlithgow, and John Drummond, Esq. called Lord Drummond, of high treason.

Jan. 26. Died Dr. Daniel Williams.* His will was very peculiar. Though he left many noble charities, and express directions, yet his trustees met with great difficulties in pursuing his designs. He was succeeded in his congregation at Hand Alley, by his fellow-labourer, Mr. John Evans, and in the lecture at Salter's Hall by Mr. Jeremy Smith.

There now came out a small pamphlet, intitled "The Case of the Protestant Dissenters in England fairly stated." The author briefly represents their hardships by the Test Act; proceeds to the Act against Occasional Conformity, and the Schism Act; and proves the necessity as well as justice of repealing these later laws, as much designed against the Hanover succession, as against the Dissenters.

There was also now cried about the streets, the Pretender's "Declaration," dated "at our Court of Commercy"† in Lorraine. Among other things, he intimates that the late Queen, "our dear sister, of glorious memory," had secured to him "the enjoy-

* Of whom I have given a large account in the continuation of my account of the ejected and silenced ministers, pp. 968–998.—C.

See "Monthly Repos." (1815) x. 201–203; xi. 309–314, 376–381, 673; xiii. 426, xvi. 194.—Ed.

† "The 25th day of October, in the fifteenth year of our reign." *Patten*, ii. 64–71.—Ed.

ment of that inheritance; out of which he had so long been kept."* By which he plainly discovered, what was before a secret to many, though others very much suspected it, and were not at all displeased that their suspicion received so authentic a confirmation.

Jan. 20. Six of the impeached lords, viz. Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, Kenmure, Widdrington, and Nairn, pleaded guilty at the bar of the House of Peers, to the articles of impeachment against them. The Earl of Wintoun obtained till the Monday following to give in his answer; which time was afterwards enlarged.†

Jan. 27, the Lords Justices making a speech to the Parliament in Ireland, told them they had an express from one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, advising that there was reason to believe that kingdom would be suddenly invaded. They took measures to defend themselves accordingly: and voted ten thousand pounds sterling, to any that should seize and secure the late Duke of Ormond, if he landed, or attempted to land in that kingdom.

Feb. 1, the Duke of Argyle with his forces, pursuing a flying enemy, came to Perth, and to Dundee the 3d and 4th. Going on farther, they had an account that on the 4th in the morning, the Pretender,

* "Which her conscience must inform her was our due, and which her principles must bend her to desire, that we might obtain." *Patten*, ii. p. 65.—Ed.

† He "made his escape, Aug. 4." *Ibid.* p. 138.—Ed.

on board a ship in the road of Montrose, took his flight back again for France,* having (as was said) none but the Earl of Mar, and servants, and some few officers of the army, in company. Argyle went on to Aberdeen, and afterwards returned to Edinburgh. Thus the Rebellion ended; and it was, after all, complained at St. Germains, that they that were concerned in this expedition, had done nothing, but ruined their friends, and spent millions to no purpose.

Feb. 14. I was married to my second wife, Mrs. Mary Jones, niece to Adam Cardonel, Esquire, who had been Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, during the whole course of his glorious actions abroad, as Captain-general of the Forces of the Allies, against France. By her I had three children, the eldest of which died young. I must own, with thankfulness, that God made her a blessing to me and mine.

Feb. 24, the Earl of Derwentwater and Lord Viscount Kenmure† were beheaded on Tower-hill. The

* See "The Earl of Mar's Journal, printed at Paris," in Patten's "Hist. of the late Rebellion," II. 107–110.

"He landed at Graveline," says Bolingbroke, "about the 22d of February; and the first orders he gave, were to stop all the vessels which were going, on his account, to the country from whence he came.

"I saw him the morning after his arrival at St. Germain's, and he received me with open arms." See "Letter to Windham," p. 209.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 327. "I saw," says Mr. John Fox, "all the

Lord Nithsdale escaped out of the Tower the night

rebel lords and gentlemen taken at Preston, brought through Holborn; was present at their solemn trial in Westminster Hall; heard my Lord Cowper pronounce that charming speech at their condemnation, and, at last, saw Derwentwater and Kenmure beheaded on Tower Hill." See "Monthly Repos." xvi. 195, 196.

Mr. Patten having described "the Earl of Derwentwater" as "a Papist, and a relation of the Pretender's," and as "being personally acquainted with him," adds:

"The sweetness of his temper and disposition, in which he had few equals, had so secured him the affection of all his tenants, neighbours and dependants, that multitudes would have lived and died with him. The truth is, he was a man formed by nature to be generally beloved; for he was of so universal a beneficence, that he seemed to live for others.

"As he lived among his own people, there he spent his estate, and continually did offices of kindness and good neighbourhood to every body, as opportunity offered. He kept a house of generous hospitality and noble entertainment; and was very charitable to poor and distressed families on all occasions, whether known to him or not, and whether Papist or Protestant. His fate will be sensibly felt by a great many, who had no kindness for the cause he died in."

Such was the life devoted to an object, which had ill merited so costly a sacrifice. Nor can this character be justly suspected of undeserved panegyric, as it was drawn by a near observer, after he had become a *renegado*, or, as he fairly confesses, had "saved his life, by being an evidence for the crown."

Mr. Patten had, indeed, valued life so much higher than honour, as to accept it, on the degrading condition of betraying the councils and conduct of his associates, whose cause he had not discovered to be unreasonable or unjust, till it had proved to be unsuccessful. It then became a "mad, as well as wicked

before, in women's clothes.* Colonel Oxburgh† and Mr. Gascoign‡ were executed a little after.§

An election of a High Steward for Westminster, in the room of the late Duke of Ormond, had been deferred, because Dean Atterbury could not bring over a sufficient number of Prebendaries to join him. At length, reckoning he was able to carry his point, a Chapter was called, and votes given, and a major vote fell on the Earl of Arran, brother to the late

wicked undertaking." See "History of the late Rebellion," pp. 61, 151.—Ed.

* A cloak and hood, since called Nithsdales." *Patten*, i. 138. This escape was effected by the contrivance and heroism of Lady Nithsdale, whose vain attempt to propitiate the King, she thus describes in a letter to her sister:

"I threw myself at his feet, but perceiving he wanted to go off, without receiving my petition, I caught hold of the skirt of his coat. He dragged me upon my knees to the very door of the drawing-room. At last one of the blue ribbons took me round the waist, while another wrested the coat out of my hand. The petition fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted away through grief and disappointment." See "Monthly Repos." xii. 466, 467.—Ed.

† "An Irish Papist, born to a plentiful estate. He was of a good, mild and merciful disposition, quiet in his conversation, and more of the priest in appearance, than the soldier." *Patten*, i. 152.—Ed.

‡ "An Irish Papist, from a good family. His grandfather was killed in the service of Charles I.; and his father at the siege of Limerick." *Ibid.* p. 150.—Ed.

§ "May 14 and 15. at Tyburn. Col. Oxburgh's quarters were buried, but his head was set upon Temple-Bar." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 63.—Ed.

Duke of Ormond, in opposition to the Duke of Newcastle, and in defiance of the Government.*

Tuesday night, March 6. There was a strange and surprising appearance observed in the sky. A pale sort of light broke out in the north-west part of our horizon, and darted toward the south-east. There were great corruscations that moved very swiftly, and an exact appearance of the dawn of day. Almost all people about London and Westminster got out to their doors, and into the streets, to make their observations; and the generality were as much affected, as at the great eclipse the April before.† It began about eight in the evening, and lasted till after midnight. It is said such things are frequent in the northern parts.‡ The common name of it is *aurora borealis.* Some fancied they saw in the heavens armies engaged, giants with flaming swords, fiery comets, dragons, and a great many other frightful figures. Others imagined they heard the report of fire-arms, and smelt powder.§ The dis-

* The votes stood thus; for the Duke of Newcastle, Dr. Bradford, Dr. Lyndford, Dr. Dent, Dr. Gee, Dr. Canon, and Mr. Watson. For the Earl of Arran, Dr. South, Dr. Only, Dr. Kimberley, Mr. Evans, Mr. Sprat, and Dr. Broderick. So the Dean turned the scale, and Lord Arran, who had been chosen, (in his brother's room) Chancellor of the University of Oxford, became also High Steward of Westminster; which was reckoned a proof of the strength of the enemies of the Government.—C. † See *supra*, pp. 311, 312.—Ed.

‡ Gassendus gives us an account of a phenomenon of this kind which he saw in Provence, in France, An. 1621.—C.

§ "It appeared, at first, like a great body of light towards the

affected party among us, generally, interpreted this appearance to the discredit of the Government and its proceedings. Others suspended their censures; and sights of that nature have since been frequent.

The Parliament proceeded but slowly against the impeached lords; and though (as already intimated) some few of the rebels were executed, yet others were reprieved, though condemned. The common cry of the disaffected party was, that this was because the King durst not meddle with them; which was very provoking.

The great debate in the two Houses was about the continuance of the Parliament for a longer time than had of late been usual. Many speeches were made on one side and the other; but at length an Act passed, that the Parliament should continue seven years from its first sitting down, if his Majesty thought good.* This, also, not a little mortified the enemies of the Government.

the north-east. After some time it spread farther and formed several columns, or pillars of light, flashing, continually, upward, as swift as lightning. This continued till near three in the morning, to the great consternation of the people." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 59. See Whiston's *Mem.* (1753) p. 240.—Ed.

* This Septennial Act commenced in the Lords, April 10, being introduced by the Duke of Devonshire. After debates, much extended for that period, the question "was carried by 69 against 36; but 24 protested." See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 27–42.

"It was a singular modesty in the Lords," says Mr. Burgh, "to originate in their House an Act relating to the Commons.

April 26, died John, Lord Somers, Baron of Evesham, in the county of Worcester,* to which honour he was promoted in the 9th of William III. He was many years Lord High Chancellor of England, and some time President of the Council. We had not an abler Minister of State, though in the latter part of his life his parts much declined.†

Therefore Lord Guernsey moved the Commons, to throw it out of the House without reading it." See "Political Disquisitions," (1774) i. 92.

During the debates on this Bill, Mr. Snell, M.P. for Gloucester, said; "If we have a right to continue ourselves one year, one month, or day, beyond our triennial term, it will unavoidably follow, we have it in our power to make ourselves perpetual." See "Use and Abuse of Parliaments," (1744) i. 205.

"But this worthy member pleaded in vain, as did many others. The Bill passed by 264 against 121." *Ibid.* p. 206. Among these 264, were 186 officers of Government in various departments; besides 9 Bank, 4 South-Sea, and 2 East India Directors. See "An exact and correct List of the Members" annexed to "A Speech, April 24, 1716, by Archibald Hutcheson, Esq. 1722." The royal assent was given May 7. *Chron. Hist.* ii. 61–63.

Yet "when this self-prolonged Parliament came at last (1722) to be dissolved, the cities of London and Westminster, with bells, bonfires, illuminations, and every other demonstration of joy, celebrated its demise." *Ibid.* p. 121; *Burgh*, i. 92, 93. On the construction and duration of Parliaments, see "Diary of Burton," i. 403, 404; ii. 427; iii. 74, 75. 516, 517.—Ed.

* "Hist. Reg." 1716, p. 221.—C.

† "A friendly stroke of apoplexy destroyed that frame which had lost the mind long before." Noble's "Biog. Hist." i. 34.

Swift,

The honour of Baronage died with him, for he left no issue. His estate went to two sisters, one of whom married Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls.

A Bill was about this time brought into the House of Commons against the irregularities of vestries, in embezzling the poor's money, &c. It passed that House, but could not get through the House of Lords, where it was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who made a set speech against it. Not a Peer having the courage to speak for it, afterwards, it was thrown out by a considerable majority. This action of the Archbishop was gene-

Swift, at the close of his character of Lord Somers says; "I have been assured, and heard him profess, that he was against engaging in that foolish prosecution of Dr. Sacheveral, (see *supra*, p. 224) as what he foresaw was likely to end in their ruin." See "Hist. of the four last Years of the Queen," (1758) pp. 10–14.

Horace Walpole (Lord Orford) calls Lord Somers "One of those divine men, who, like a chapel in a palace, remain unprofaned, while all the rest is tyranny, corruption and folly." See "Royal and Noble Authors," (1759) ii. 107; *Spectator*, vol. i. *Ded.*; *Freeholder*, No. 39.

"He was supposed," says Lord Orford, "but on what foundation I know not, to write the Preface to Dr. Tindal's 'Rights of the Christian Church.'" Another piece has been more frequently attributed to Lord Somers, which was largely circulated, at the period of the Hanover succession. The eleventh edition (1714) is now before me, entitled, "The Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations, concerning the Rights, Powers and Prerogative of Kings, and the Rights, Privileges, and Properties of the People."—Ed.

rally applauded, by the clergy. Bishop Smalridge told his clergy, in his primary visitation, that "their most Reverend Metropolitan had given them a late signal proof of his firm resolution to oppose, with his utmost power and vigour, all dangerous innovations and encroachments, that may be hereafter attempted upon the establishment of the Church, whose prosperity, welfare and interest, he had hereby shown himself to have much at heart." But standers-by thought that his Grace had proved that as convincingly to the full, if dropping anything in that Bill that was justly exceptionable, he had either then, or some time after, brought in a Bill to free the Church from the scandals with which the management of select vestries is well known to be attended.

May 29. There was a great disturbance at Cambridge,* and the scholars of Clare Hall were miserably insulted for their loyalty to the Government, together with those of Trinity College. Mr. Hussey's meeting-house† was pillaged and plundered, and almost demolished.

* In London, "several persons committed, for wearing of oaken boughs, in memory of the Restoration. August 6. Two soldiers whipped, almost to death, in Hyde Park, and turned out of the service, for wearing oak boughs in their hats, 29th of May.

"May 29, 1717. Guards placed" to apprehend "those who durst wear oaken boughs." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 63. 67. 72.—Ed.

† Where was "an audience of upwards of one thousand." Mr. Hussey removed, 1720, "to London," where "he died, 1726." See Dyer's "Mem. of R. Robinson," (1796) p. 39.—Ed.

June 5. The Irish Parliament sitting, it was "resolved by the Commons, *nemine contradicente*, that such of his Majesty's Protestant Dissenting subjects of that kingdom, as had taken commissions in the militia, or acted in the commission of array, had thereby done a seasonable service. And that any person that should commence a prosecution against any such Dissenter, was an enemy to the King, and the Protestant interest, and a friend to the Pretender."

June 7. A day of thanksgiving for the suppressing of the late unnatural Rebellion, which was generally observed; but, in the prayers appointed, for that time, by authority in the public churches, there was not a word of rebels or rebellion to be met with. Thanks were only offered to Almighty God, for "suppressing seditious tumults." Yet, in reality, they were not even yet suppressed; but were often renewed, and, particularly, at that time on the Pretender's birth-day (June 10), when the enemies of the Government, in defiance of his Majesty, distinguished themselves by wearing white roses.*

However, there was at this time another general run of addresses from all parts, by way of congratulation, upon suppressing the late Rebellion; and among others, there was a handsome one presented by the Quakers. As to the other Dissenters, though they fell short of none in zeal and affection for the Government, yet they did not think their addressing

* "To prevent which, guards were posted in several parts of the town." *Chron. Hist* ii. 64.—Ed.

now so seasonable, by reason that they met with so many difficulties, and such unaccountable delays, about the reparation of their damages, as to so many places of worship, that had been demolished and pulled to pieces. They had waited long, and found nothing done towards their relief, notwithstanding the address of the House of Commons, in their favour, and his Majesty's repeated promise.*

They did not reckon themselves well used by the Ministry, and were not unwilling they might take notice, that was their apprehension; and the rather, because they knew the King had some about him, that were for courting the Church, in hope of a concurrence of a number of the high party, who by their falling in, might make the slighting the Dissenters the less hazardous. A motion was made by Dr. Sherlock, Dean of Chichester, in a sermon before the Commons on the thanksgiving-day, about "suppressing the hopes of some," as well as "allaying the fears of others;" plainly referring the "fears" spoken of to the Church party, who, many of them, (though without the least reason,) were afraid of danger under his Majesty's administration.

In the opposite "hopes" he, as plainly, pointed to those whom he calls "that little kind of men, the Dissenters." Now, for their part, though they could see no reason for any great thoughts of themselves, nor for expecting to be greatly thought of by others, they yet conceived, that as "little" as they were,

* See *supra*, p. 318, *ad fin.*—Ed.

they had been of some use to the Government, and might be farther so. Though it was true enough they were but "little men," compared with some others, they might, it seems, be made yet less, and would be so, if some men could have their will, which they apprehended they could not be thought unreasonable if they were desirous to prevent. The utmost of their "hopes," besides having their damages made good, which had been promised, but not yet done, (about which, such as were in or near the City or Court, were urged and pressed by their friends concerned,) were, as soon as consisted with the convenience of the Government, to be delivered from some unnatural grievances brought upon them for their zeal for the Protestant succession, by those who, in the sequel, appeared to have had no good designs either to Church or State; some of whom appeared afterwards in actual rebellion for the sake of a Popish Pretender; and that, at length, a law might be repealed, by which one of the most sacred institutions of our religion is prostituted to a mean and secular purpose. They could not help thinking that those persons must be dim-sighted and prejudiced indeed, to whom such "hopes" as these could appear unreasonable.

June 26. The King, in a speech to his Parliament, declared his intention to visit his hereditary dominions, and leave his son the Prince of Wales guardian or lieutenant of the kingdom in his absence: and the Parliament was prorogued to August.

But, before he went, the Earls of Nottingham and Jersey, and their two sons; the Duke of Argyle also, and Lord Islay his brother, were removed from all their posts and employments.

July 7. His Majesty left St. James's, rode through the City, in his coach, to the Tower,* there took water for Greenwich, and landed in Holland, July 9.

July 13. Parson Paul and Justice Hall† were executed at Tyburn, and left most impudent papers behind them, which were published. The parson declared he died a son of the Church of England; but not of the Schismatical Church, whose Bishops set themselves up in opposition to those Orthodox Fathers, unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange. He renounced that communion, and died a dutiful and faithful member of the Nonjuring Church. He desired the clergy and members of "the Revolution Church" to consider the bottom they stood upon, when their succession was grounded on an invalid deprivation of Catholic Bishops, by a pretended Act of Parliament. Mr. Hall's

* Chandler, now an academic, afterwards an eminent Nonconformist minister, writing to his friend Mr. John Fox, thus expresses his gratified affection:

"This morning, about ten, dear King George came publicly through the City, for the Tower, in order to go for Holland. I saw, with the usual satisfaction, that good and great man. He looked well, and smiled upon his people." See "Monthly Repos." (1821) xvi. 697.—Ed.

† See "Hist. of the late Rebellion," i. 142–144. He "had been reprieved five times." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 66.

speech was of much the like nature. This was carrying things to the utmost height. The two speeches seemed to be drawn up by the same hand with Lord Derwentwater's, and Colonel Oxburgh's; and they revived a debate that had lain for some time asleep in the Church of England.

Some messengers, searching for a scandalous paper called "the Shift shifted,"* happened to meet with a book intitled "the Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated," written by Mr. Howell, a clergyman, who was thereupon committed to Newgate.† The avowed design was to prove, that ever since the Revolution, there has been a schism in the Church of England; that those only are of the true Church, who have preserved their principles of loyalty to King James II. and his posterity: and that the others are schismatical, and guilty of perjury, and by consequence *ipso facto* deprived. The author affirms that ministers of the Church that join with these shismatics, cannot dispense the ordinances with any benefit, and are forsaken of God and his grace.‡

Answers were returned by Dr. Bennet and several others. But the most celebrated piece on the side of Government, was the Bishop of Bangor's "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of the Non-

* The printer suffered "a fine of 20 marks," besides "the pillory, and a year's imprisonment." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 68.—Ed.

† Sentenced "March 2, 1717, to a fine of 500*l.*, to remain in prison three years, to be twice whipped, to be degraded, and stripped of his gown by the executioner, which was done in Court accordingly." *Ibid.* p. 70.—Ed.

‡ See "Annals of King George," (year 3,) 44, 45, &c.—Ed.

jurors, both in Church and State; or an appeal to the consciences and common sense of the Christian laity."*

When "the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation" charges this writer with throwing "contempt on a regular succession of the ministry," he makes this reply, "I have never thrown the least contempt upon a regular succession of ministers in general, or of Bishops in particular.—I am fully satisfied that, till a consummate stupidity can be happily established, and universally spread over the land, there is nothing that tends so much to destroy all due respect to the clergy, as the demands of more than can be due to them; and nothing that has so effectually thrown contempt upon a regular succession of the ministry, as the calling no succession regular, but what is uninterrupted; and the making the eternal salvation of Christians to depend upon that uninterrupted succession, of which the most learned must have the least assurance, and the unlearned can have no notion, but through ignorance and credulity."†

This freedom and closeness of that great man was what some people could not tell how to forgive; and he was but roughly dealt with for his pains, some time afterwards.

The Prince of Wales behaved himself to the general satisfaction, while his Majesty was absent. Among other things which he did, as Regent, the

* See pp. 50, 51, Ed. 4. C.

† "Answer to the Representation by the Committee of Convocation," pp. 89–91.—C.

execution of the five rioters, who, on July 23, gave great disturbance at a mug-house in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street,* was (as circumstances then stood) a great act of courage, and did abundance of service. It struck a damp upon the insulting temper of the rabble, and the common people began to be more quiet from that day forward.

It was not long after, that in pursuance of the earnest and repeated applications made to the Government, commissions were granted to several gentlemen by name, in the several counties where the places of worship of Protestant Dissenters had been pulled down and destroyed, or plundered by the riotous mobs, to inquire into the particulars of the damages sustained, and make a report above, which being done at last, after it had been so long delayed, gave no small pleasure to them and their friends.

About the same time, an address to his Majesty being sent over hither by the ministers of New England, and they making it their request that Mr. Tong, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Bradbury, and I, would attend at the presenting it, we accompanied Mr. Dummer, the agent for New England, to Court. After a little waiting, we were admitted to the

* "The sons of Whiggism, after they were a little elevated, ventured to attack some Tories, who were in the Swan alehouse over against them, and one of the Tory mob was shot."

These five rioters "were hanged at the end of Salisbury Court;" and "several bearers who had attended the funeral" of one of them, "going to St. Bride's Church in procession, with their favours, were apprehended, and fined at the Sessions twenty marks a-piece." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 66, 67.—Ed.

Prince Regent, at a time when he had a more than ordinary attendance of persons of distinction. While we waited in the antichamber, we were told that the Princess, who had been in no small danger by an unhappy miscarriage, was much better. Several of the courtiers that passed by, and inquired what brought us thither, gave it as their opinion that it would be highly proper for us to take the opportunity of passing a short respectful compliment upon the Prince, on occasion of the recovery of her Royal Highness.

None of us could deny but the thing was fit and proper enough; but the question was, which of us should do it, off-hand and without time for forethought, in such a presence. The other three put it upon me to speak, and were each of them so resolute against their own doing it, that, had I been as positive, it must have been wholly omitted, which we all agreed would not be well taken. Thereupon, I undertook it; but when I came into the presence-chamber, and saw so many Lords, Earls, Dukes, and Bishops, there, and particularly observed the Lord Chancellor at the Prince's right hand, and the Archbishop of Dublin at his left, and a good number of white staves, stars, and garters, in the company, I should gladly have retracted my promise, but it was then too late. Therefore, when the address had been presented, I stepped up to the Prince, and passed a short compliment upon him in these words:

"May it please your Royal Highness.

"Having this favourable opportunity of appear-

ing in your august presence, we humbly beg leave, before we withdraw, to express the grateful sense we have of that kind Providence, which has so mercifully interposed for the preserving the inestimable life of your most excellent consort.

"The concern we were under to hear of her great danger, engaged our most hearty and fervent prayers for her; and the hope and prospect we now have of her perfect recovery, is the matter of our daily thanksgiving and joy."

The Prince, in an obliging manner, returned us thanks, and we all kissed his hand: and when we were gone, Mr. Thomas Bradbury, with his wonted pleasantry* said, if any one asked him who of us waited on the Prince on this occasion, he would answer that there were two Presbyterians, a congregational Brother, and a Quaker! In the last of these denominations, pointing at me, who had a very discernible tremor in my voice, which, considering the unusualness of the service I was put upon, in the midst of so many persons of rank and dignity, upon so short warning, was not much to be wondered at.

October 30. On the evening of the Prince's birthday, there was a great disturbance at Oxford. The gentlemen of the Constitution Club,† were terribly insulted at the Star Inn. The windows were most miserably broken by the rabble, and great riots fol-

* See *supra*, p. 301, *note*.—Ed.

† "All persons were admitted who were well affected to King George, and not below the degree of a Bachelor of Arts." *Terræ-Filius*, No. 50.—Ed.

lowed among the soldiers, scholars, and townsmen. I at that time passing through Oxford, in my way from Bath to London, saw the sad fruits of this disturbance.

This year died Mr. Robert Flemming.* His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Joshua Oldfield. He was succeeded as pastor to the Scot's Church in Lothbury, by Mr. John Cumming; and in the Tuesday Lecture at Salter's Hall, by Mr. Benjamin Grosvenor.

Sept. 14. Died Mr. Thomas Freke, of Bartholomew Close; his funeral sermon was preached by Mr. William Tong, and he was succeeded by Mr. Munckley.

Nov. 14. Died Monsieur Leibnitz, who was a great philosopher and statesman; a courtier at Hanover;† a great ornament of his country.

* See vol. i. p. 441.—Ed.

† Where he acquired the patronage of Sophia Charlotte, Queen of Prussia, under whose influence he presided in the Royal Academy of Sciences, at Berlin. (See *supra*, p. 262, *ad fin.*)

"Elle croyoit," says her Grandson, "qu'il n'étoit pas indigne d'une Reine, d'estimer un philosophe; et, comme ceux qui ont reçu du Ciel des ames priviligiées, s'élevent à l'égal des Souverains, elle admit Leibnitz dans sa familiarité; elle fit plus, elle le proposa comme seul capable de jetter les fondemens de cette nouvelle Academie." *Memoires*, p. 90.

"C'est la Reine de Prusse qui avoit engagé Leibnitz à répondre aux difficultés de Bayle, sur le bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme, et l'origine du bien et du mal." *Nouv. Dict. Hist.* v. 212.

Leibnitz died at the age of seventy. Letters between him and Burnet are annexed to the "Memorial," (described, *supra*, p. 2,) with *fac-similes* of their *autographs*.—Ed.

Nov. 29. died Dr. Offspring Blackall, bishop of Exeter, who was succeeded by Dr. Lancelot Blackburn, dean of the same

Dec. 19. I gave an ordination charge, in the place of worship in Old Jewry, to Mr. James and Mr. Henry Read, Mr. Richard Briscoe, (who afterwards conformed to the Church of England,) Mr. George Smyth, and Mr. Samuel Chandler. It was printed, in conjunction with the sermon preached upon the same occasion by Mr. Samuel Wright.

1717. Jan 19. I preached at the ordination of Mr. John Munckley, of Bartholomew Close, and printed my sermon.* I added at the close, a letter to M. Ulspergh, a German divine, in which I, at his request, gave "a brief but true account of the Dissenters, in England." This gentleman was at that time in England, but became afterwards Court preacher to the Duke of Wirtemburgh, and was in great reputation.

While his Majesty continued in his hereditary dominions, he did not spend all his time in sport and diversions, but was intent upon promoting and securing peace in the North, removing the Muscovite troops† out of the empire, and fixing the alliance with France by a Treaty, that should rectify several mistakes in the Peace of Utrecht. This was called the triple alliance, between Great Britain, France,

* "The principles and practice of moderate Nonconformists with respect to Ordination, exemplified."—Ed.

† See "The Russian Bear," *supra*, p. 292, *note*.—Ed.

and Holland.* At length, after he had invested Prince Frederick, his grandson, and his brother, the Duke of York, and Bishop of Osnaburgh, with the Order of the Garter, he returned to Westminster, where he arrived January 19.

Soon after, all the discourse was of an invasion from Sweden. The Parliament met, Feb. 20. The King told the two Houses of this design, and that he had ordered to be laid before them, copies of letters that passed between the Swedish ministers, which contained a certain account of the projected invasion.

Some ridiculed this new plot, and represented the whole as a trick of State; but the tampering of Swedish Ministers with subjects of Britain, was very plain, from Count Gyllembergh's published letters,† which it is unreasonable to suppose fictitious. It appeared also, from Baron Gortz's papers, seized afterwards,‡ that the King of Sweden had entered into an engagement with the Court of Spain, to make an invasion upon us in Britain as soon as he had reduced Frederickshal, while the Duke of Ormond should make an attempt upon Ireland, with 8000 men, from the port of Biscay. The alarm hereupon was loud in the City. It not only raised the hopes and insolence of the Jacobites, but affrighted and sunk the spirits of many well-affected subjects.

* See "Annals of King George," year 3. p. 100.—C.

† See *Chron. Hist.* ii. 69, 70.—Ed.

‡ "In Holland, Jan. 1717." He "was beheaded at Stockholm, Feb. 1719." *Ibid.* pp. 69. 80.—Ed.

March 4. The Dissenting ministers in and about London waited on his Majesty in a body, with a humble address; and, at their common request, I was the presenter* of it.

* It was in the words following:

"May it please your Majesty,

"Though we are very ambitious of professing the allegiance and duty we owe to your Majesty on every occasion, yet we never make these professions with greater readiness and alacrity than when your Majesty's Government is unhappily threatened with any disturbance at home or from abroad; such occasions giving us the best opportunity to express that zeal and fidelity, by which we are always desirous to be distinguished.

"As we offered up our constant prayers to Almighty God for the safety of your Majesty's person while you were abroad, and have since sent up our most humble thanks for your Majesty's safe return to these your dominions, so we reckon it our great felicity, among the rest of your faithful subjects, that your Majesty is in this your kingdom before a rebellion, concerted between a restless faction and some foreign ministers, was to break out.

"We congratulate your Majesty with all humility on the success of your councils abroad, which tends to secure your person and Government from the malicious designs of your enemies; and that as your Majesty upon visiting your hereditary countries saw some branches of your Royal family in health, so upon your return from them, you found your kingdoms in peace and tranquillity, by the prudent administration of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales under your Majesty; and her Royal Highness the Princess recovered from a danger, which gave all your Majesty's good subjects the utmost anxiety and concern.

"We take the liberty to return your Majesty our most dutiful thanks for the privileges which we enjoy in common with the rest of your subjects under your Government; by which the honour, commerce, and credit of this nation are so far retrieved and

His Majesty used to receive us, on such occasions, standing, but was now sitting under a canopy, and I

improved, and its security so much advanced; and also for the steps which your Majesty has been pleased to take towards the repairing the damages which several of our persuasion suffered by the late rebellious tumults, pursuant to the Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, and your Majesty's most gracious answer.

"We unfeignedly wish your Majesty as entire a possession of the hearts of all those of your subjects that have been so unjustly and violently set against you, as your Majesty has of the affections of all of our persuasion throughout your dominions. Among us we know not that you have an open, a secret, or suspected enemy; nor any, who, notwithstanding what they have suffered from your Majesty's enemies, or the neglect they have hitherto met with from others, (for whose sakes and with whom they have been always content to suffer,) can be brought to the least degree of indifference about any thing that concerns your Majesty, your family, or your administration. We reckon it our peculiar glory, that during the late unnatural rebellion, there were not any of our principles who did not express the utmost zeal for the suppressing it, in their several stations and capacities.

"Your Majesty's penetration will, we doubt not, easily lead you to discern that such a body of your faithful subjects deserve to be distinguished in another manner than by marks of infamy. Their consolation is, that they were put under some of them, for what was hoped at that time would have been for your service; had your Majesty and the nation found it so, we had been the more easy.

"We think it the particular honour of the Protestant Dissenters, that their strict adherence to the interest of your illustrious Family before your Majesty's accession, and their loyalty to it since, have drawn down upon them so much of the fury of some of their fellow subjects. We are not conscious what else could render us obnoxious to them; our principles being, as we hope,

the

was led up to him under my arm by Mr. Secretary Stanhope, through a lane of noblemen and attendants. When I came near him I observed his lips quivered and his hands shook, and saw several signs of a great languor and faintness, which sensibly struck me. Telling the Secretary afterwards what I observed, with concern, he signified to me that his Majesty had an indisposition that morning, which was pretty usual with him, but there was not the least hazard, and it would be soon over, which made me easy.

When we had kissed the King's hand, I begged a

the most friendly to mankind; and amounting to no more than those of a general toleration to all peaceable subjects, univeral love and charity to all Christians, and to act always in matters of religion as God shall give us light into his will about them.

"We do not so much as expect or desire any thing that ought to give any one the least disturbance. We only wish that under your Majesty, as the common father of all your loyal people, those of our persuasion might not want a capacity, as we hope your Majesty will find they never want an inclination, to promote the true interest of the Protestant religion and of their country.

"May the great God continue to multiply his blessings upon your Majesty and every branch of your Royal family; and after you have for many years ruled faithfully for God on earth, may you reign gloriously with him for ever in heaven."

To which Address his Majesty was pleased to return a gracious answer in these words:

"I thank you for your dutiful and affectionate Address.

"I am fully convinced of the loyalty and zeal of the Protestant Dissenters.

"I will give orders for the speedy payment of the damages they sustained in the late tumults.

"And they and you shall always have my protection."—C.

word with Mr. Secretary, at the other end of the room, and was surrounded by my brethren, as had been concerted. I then told him, we were very sensible how much we were obliged to his honour, with regard to the reparation designed for our friends, as to their places of worship. We apprehended he could not think it strange, if, in their circumstances, they were pressing upon us, and apt to think us negligent, when they had been so long delayed. Being informed he was shortly going into the Treasury, we hoped he would be mindful of this affair; and, if he would allow us to let our friends know that we had his word of honour about the matter, it would much heighten their satisfaction. He assured us, that as he was going into the Treasury, in a little time, so, upon his honour, he would take care that our's should be among the first money paid. He gave us leave to signify this much to our friends, and was as good as his word,* which was a great comfort to the sufferers, in all parts.

At the desire of some members of Parliament, who thought that, under the government of the Hanover family, the Dissenters should be eased of the hardships to which their zeal for that family had exposed them, I drew up and published a small pamphlet, in octavo, entitled, "The Repeal of the Act against Occasional Conformity considered, in a Letter to a Member of the honourable House

* "April 27, 1717. 5000*l.* ordered to the Dissenters, for damage, by demolishing their meeting-houses." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 71.—Ed.

of Commons." I was informed it met with good acceptance. So also did some other Tracts published this year on the same subject. Yet nothing was now done, in pursuit of the design proposed.

April 22, I preached "a sermon* to a Society of Catechumens, in Jewin Street," which I was prevailed with to send to the press.

But the discourse now generally ran upon the triple alliance, by which his Majesty effectually removed the Pretender and his dependants out of the territories of France, and compassed the full demolition of Maerdyke. The Dutch got their trade with France settled to their satisfaction: and the French Regent secured to himself and his family, allies that might be depended on, in opposition to Spain, upon supposition of the death of the young King of France.†

* Entitled, "Sober-mindedness recommended."—Ed.

† To negotiate this alliance, the Regent, Duke of Orleans, had sent to Holland, L'Abbé, afterwards Cardinal Dubois, now Archbishop of Cambray, as Ambassador Extraordinary. From Holland he proceeded to Hanover; during the late visit of the King to his hereditary dominions.

"Après avoir eu plusieurs conférences secretes avec M. Stanhope, l'Abbé eut l'honneur de saluer le Roi d'Angleterre, qui le recut avec franchise et cordialité. George I. était extraordinairement jaloux de sa parole, et fidèle à ses engagements. Cette loyauté faisait la base de son caractère, et elle était annoncée par l'affabilité et la franchise.

"Aussi la négotiation le traitant avec lui-même fut de courte durée. On eut bientôt posé les fondemens de la triple alliance, et réglé l'affaire du canal de Mardick." See "Vie privée du Cardinal Dubois," (1789) pp. 74, 78.—Ed.

Bishop Hoadley had preached before the King, March 31, from *John* xviii. 36, on "The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ." He warmly asserts, "that Christ is the sole lawgiver to his subjects, and the sole judge of their behaviour, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation;" that "the Church of Christ is the number of men, whether small or great, whether dispersed or united, who truly and sincerely are subject to Jesus Christ alone as their lawgiver and judge, in such things as these;" and that "to set up any other authority in his kingdom, to which his subjects are indispensably and absolutely obliged to submit their consciences or conduct in what is properly called religion, evidently destroys the rule and authority of Jesus Christ as king."

Such notions were by many reckoned more to fall in with the scheme proposed in my "Introduction"* to the second part of my "Defence of moderate Nonconformity,"† than with the current thoughts and sentiments of the patrons, supporters, and vindicators, of the national establishment; and to be more reconcileable to the schemes of Dissenters, than to the 20th Article of the Church of England.‡

* On which, see Locke, *supra*, pp. 31, 32.—Ed.

† Locke's "Defence of Nonconformity," part of "an unpublished work," among his MSS. which have descended to Lord King, from his illustrious ancestor, the Chancellor, has just appeared. See his Lordship's "Life of Locke, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals, and Common-place Books," p. 341.—Ed.

‡ See the clause, Vol. i. p. 254, *note* *.—Ed.

He was hereupon assaulted, with great warmth and eagerness, but by no one with more indecency than Dr. Andrew Snape, in a printed letter addressed to the Bishop himself; to which he made a calm reply. And upon occasion of a report that he was put upon preaching that sermon at Court to serve some political ends, the Bishop makes use of these words: "God knows my sermon was preached without the knowledge of any man living." Upon this Dr. Snape published a second letter to the Bishop, in which he drops the argument, and runs out in personal reflections.*

The truth of it, is, Bishop Hoadley had at this time but hard treatment. The two smartest of his

* The Doctor had been told by Dr. Hutchinson (in direct opposition to the Bishop's solemn declaration) that the sermon was "preached with the knowledge, and submitted to the correction, of a certain person, who advised the making several alterations in it." Hereupon, (after a vehement invective against poor M. Pilonniere," who had been of the Jesuitical order in the Church of Rome, and had for some time lived in his lordship's family, as a tutor to his children) he addresses himself to the Bishop in such stinging words as these:

"I must needs say, your evasive and equivocal way of writing savours very strongly of such communication;" (that is with a Jesuit;) "and whether the same person may not have helped you to a mental reservation to justify a solemn appeal to God, that what you preached was without the knowledge of any man living, when a living man has testified that it was preached with his knowledge, and submitted to his correction; your lordship best knows." This must be owned provoking in the last degree. And it was not the less so, considering the difference there was between these two in their rank and station.—C.

antagonists were this Dr. Snape and Dr. Sherlock; the Master of Eton, and the Master of the Temple. It was observed as to both, that they were very fond of bringing the Dissenters into the quarrel.*

Dr. Snape's bold stroke at the Bishop, in his second letter, is hardly to be equalled. "I pray," says he, "recollect yourself, and put these plain questions home to your own conscience, whether your absolutelys and properlys, and such like evasive words

* The former charged the bishop with harbouring a Jesuit in his family. Upon which his lordship gave the world a particular account of M. Pilonniere (the person that was represented as so great a criminal); and Mr. Pilonniere did also, from the press, give a large account of himself as to his behaviour and sufferings among the Jesuits; his leaving their society and turning Protestant; his quitting France and his conduct afterwards.

But accusations increased and multiplied through an evident unwillingness in the accusers to receive satisfaction. There appeared something very scandalous in pursuing and supporting charges brought against one who might rather have expected to be pitied, than insulted and falsely accused.

Dr. Snape was very intent upon awakening the Dissenters out of their lethargy, and firing them with resentment against M. Pilonniere for treating Mr. Calvin disrespectfully, (at which he could not, itseems, but be much concerned,) and against the Bishop of Bangor, who entertained such a person in his family, as one against whose doctrine and writings they needed to be strictly cautioned.

Dr. Sherlock, not less angry, had a yet more artful reach, in doing his best to bring the Dissenters upon the stage to answer the Bishop, by exposing them to popular odium on his account. But it was the opinion of many, that neither of them had any great occasion to boast of their success.—C.

See "Monthly Repos." (1806) i. 575; ii. 7, 231.—Ed.

were not omitted in your sermon as it was originally composed? Whether you did not, before it was preached, show it a certain person, without such limitations? And whether you were not with difficulty prevailed upon by him to insert them by way of caution. If you think fit to answer the world in the negative, I engage that a person of unquestionable veracity, of as high and sacred a station as your lordship, will charge himself with the proof of the affirmative."

Such an home thrust at a bishop, from a clergyman, was hardly ever to be met with till now. Bishop Hoadley was so uneasy at it, that, not staying to write a book in answer, he immediately put an advertisement in "the Daily Courant" of June 28, wherein he made his appeal to the world, and declared, he had recollected himself, and put the questions proposed. Yet he solemnly averred, that the words mentioned as evasive, were in the sermon originally, and intended and designed to be so; that he did not, before the preaching it, show it to any person, either with or without such limitations; and, consequently, could not possibly be persuaded by any one to insert those words.

Therefore he called upon the Doctor, by all the regard due to conscience and honour; he required him by all the ties of Christian duty, either to make public reparation for so uncommon an injury, or to produce immediately that worthy person, of the same high and sacred station, who, he engaged,

would charge himself with the proof of the affirmative. Likewise, to name that living man, who he affirmed had testified that the sermon was preached with his knowledge, and submitted to his correction. This he demanded; and put the whole of his reputation upon this single point, &c.

Upon this, Dr. Snape, by an advertisement in the "Post Boy," named Dr. Hutchinson, as one of the persons he meant, and Dr. Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, as the other. In the "Evening Post," of the same day, the Bishop of Bangor, with some warmth, fell upon the Bishop of Carlisle, and called upon him to make good what he had said. The Bishop hesitated awhile, and disputed with Dr. Snape, affirming he had not said that the words were put in before the sermon was preached, but before it was published. However, the Doctor would not abate the Bishop of Carlisle an ace; and still affirmed that he had said positively that his words were "before preached."

The Bishop of Bangor had two more advertisements, to bring the Bishop of Carlisle and Dr. Snape to agree upon the words, and at last very fairly brought it to this dilemma; that, let it be which way it would, the fact was false. Therefore, pressing the Doctor, on one hand, to adjust the words, he pressed the Bishop as hard on the other hand to name the person. Not being able to keep it off any longer, he named Dr. White Kennet, Dean of Peterborough.

The Dean being then at Peterborough, the Bishop of Bangor wrote to him of what had passed, telling him he did not question but he would own the words, or to that purpose. But when it came to the Dean's turn to speak, he denied the matter in such terms, that it was the apprehension of many, that no one could so repel a charge, if it had not been perfectly clear.*

The Bishop of Carlisle now having the quarrel upon himself, took up the whole state of things in a small pamphlet, entitled "A Collection of Papers scattered lately about the Town, in the Daily Courant, St. James's Post, &c. with some remarks upon them; in a letter from the Bishop of Carlisle to the Bishop of Bangor." He rather rallies the Bishop of Bangor than enters into the fact, any otherwise than by affirming it against Dr. Kennet. He, finding the Bishop of Carlisle thus positive, thought it convenient to assert his own innocence in a warmer manner than before, and published not only an Attestation, in the common prints, against the charge, but wrote "a Second Letter to the Bishop of Carlisle," &c.

It was, in reality, very shocking for persons of such eminence, in the most solemn manner possible, on each side to affirm two things, directly contrary, for matters of fact; and to have the Bishop "pledging his eternal salvation," that Dr. Kennet did say so and so; and to have Dr. Kennet say, "God so

* See "the Life of Bishop Kennet," p. 168, &c.—C.

help him here, and judge him at last," if he did. The Bishop of Carlisle, to corroborate his part, brought the evidence of one Mr. Henchman, about some words used in Child's Coffee-house, by Mr. Timothy Child: but he was unfortunate in this as well as his other attempts to shake off the reproach that stuck upon him. For Mr. Child presently published an advertisement, by which he denied the fact.

At last, the Bishop of Carlisle laid down the cudgels, and resolved to give no more answers to whatever should be said. And the Bishop of Bangor and Dean of Peterborough took their leave with two long advertisements, wherein (to put the best language upon it that the matter would bear) they convicted the Bishop of Carlisle of a great piece of forgetfulness, in charging a fact upon the Bishop of Bangor which was not true, and quoting a witness for it who knew nothing of the matter.

It is to be feared this unhappy squabble did a great deal of mischief. But it was, at the same time, a pleasure to the Dissenters, that the Bishop of Bangor met with no such treatment from any of their fraternity, while dealing with them in several successive writings.*

Dr. Sherlock, in his answer to Bishop Hoadley, takes it for granted, that the design of his sermon before the King, was to make way for the repeal of the Test Act. Whereupon he sets himself to vindi-

* See *supra*, p. 79 *note* *.—Ed.

cate the Corporation and Test Acts in a set discourse.* Thus he did what in him lay, to drive the Dissenters under his Lordship's shelter.

The convocation also, or, at least, their committee† took Bishop Hoadley to task, for his "Preservative," and his "Sermon," and charged him with "subverting all Government and discipline in the Church of Christ, and reducing his kingdom to a state of anarchy and confusion, and with impugning and impeaching the Regal Supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, and the authority of the Legislature, to enforce obedience in matters of religion by civil sanctions."‡

* See "Annals of King George," vol. iv. 259.—C.

Sherlock published, 1718, "A Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts; in answer to the Bishop of Bangor's reasons for the repeal of them." With "a second part concerning the religion of oaths."

Hoadley followed, 1719, with "The Common Rights of Subjects defended, and the Nature of the Sacramental Test considered; an answer to the most plausible and ingenious defence of excluding men from their acknowledged civil rights, upon account of their differences in religion, or in the circumstances of religion."

Sherlock rejoined in "The true meaning and intention of the Corporation and Test Acts, asserted 1719." *Gen. Biog. Dict.* xi. 397, 398.—Ed.

† Drs. Moss, Sherlock, Friend, Sprat, Cannon and Biss.—C.

‡ Their representation may be seen at large, "Annals of King George," year 3, *Append.* p. 102.—C.

"May 10. The Lower House of Convocation, having drawn up their representation, against the Bishop of Bangor's doctrine, were prorogued to Nov. 10, by a special order from Court,

May 22. The Earl of Oxford, who had been almost two years confined in the Tower, petitioned the Peers, that his case might be considered. June 13th was pitched on for the day of his trial. The Commons moved for farther time to get ready, and the Lords deferred it to June 24. Earl Cowper was appointed Lord High Steward. When the managers began and were going on in their speeches, Lord Harcourt made a motion to adjourn the House of Lords, where, after a long debate, it was resolved not to admit the Commons to proceed in making good the articles for high crimes, &c. until judgment was first given on the articles for High Treason. The managers asserted, that it was the right of the Commons to proceed in their own method, and were for resorting to their House for direction.

before they could present it to the Upper House. Since which time the Convocation have never been suffered to sit, to do business." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 72.

On this prohibition, a satirist says:

"The Convocation gaped, but could not speak."

At the meeting of a new Parliament, the Primate with his Dean, (who is the Bishop of London,) and other Dignitaries of his Province of Canterbury, still repair to St. Paul's. There, as I once witnessed, they are joined by the Civilians from Doctors' Commons. The liturgy having been read in Latin, they hear a *Concio ad Clerum.* Then, after the Archbishop's benediction in Latin, a procession is formed to the adjoining Chapter-house. The Convocation vote an address to the King, (which, in 1826, deprecated any farther relief to Catholics,) and immediately adjourn, *sine die.*—Ed.

Hereupon, followed conferences and debates, and a variety of reasons were given on both sides. But the two Houses could by no means agree; and a free conference could not be obtained. The Lords were for proceeding in the trial, their own way. The Commons not appearing, they at length acquitted the Earl, and dismissed the impeachment.* Hereupon, the Commons addressed his Majesty to except the said Earl of Oxford out of his designed act of grace. He was accordingly excepted in the Act which passed July 6.

Mr. Gowan, minister of the English Church at Leyden, being here this summer, was desirous to kiss the King's hand, his Majesty being then at Hampton Court. Being an utter stranger there, he desired my assistance. I accordingly went with him, and applied to Mr. Robeton, his Majesty's private secretary for Hanover, who received us with great civility. He, entering into free conversation with Mr. Gowan, enquired particularly after the behaviour of the Scottish gentlemen who retired into Holland after the late Rebellion in the North was over; and I found by what passed, (and was well pleased with the discovery,) that those about the

* "July 1, *nem. con.* 2, Some drummers of the guards were committed to the Marshalsea, for beating a point of war before the Earl's house, and congratulating him on his deliverance. 3, The Earl took his place in the House." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 74. See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 52—73.—Ed.

King were distinctly informed of every thing material abroad, as well as at home.

Mr. Robeton told Mr. Gowan, that if he would attend in the antechamber, he would speak to the Lord in waiting, who would not fail of introducing him to his Majesty, just as he rose from dinner. As I was waiting in the antechamber, I happened to meet Colonel Kane, who freely enquired after my business there. I readily told him; adding, that I might well enough in my turn, ask what he was doing there, at such a distance from his post, at Port Mahon in the Mediterranean, where he was Deputy Governor.

He told me they had had a very ill Bishop in the Isle of Minorca, who filled the people's heads with fancies, and played the soldiers a thousand tricks. They had got him removed, and it was his business to provide another in his room that, it might be hoped, would carry it better. He had found one who, though Papist enough, was yet a steady Whig, whom he had carried to the Archbishop, at Lambeth, who much approved him. He was now applying to the King and Council, for a recommendation to the Emperor, that he might be made Bishop.

I was for putting all this together, and asked him, if it had not an odd sound, for an honest gentleman that was a true blue Presbyterian from the North of Ireland, to be for making a Popish Bishop in an Island in the Mediterranean; and, carrying him, in

order to it, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Metropolitan of all England, for his Grace's approbation, and afterwads applying to King George, the head of the Protestant interest, for his recommendation to the Emperor of Germany, the head of the Popish interest. I asked, if this did not argue the times we lived in to be very strange? At which he laughed most heartily; but still told me, he thought himself well employed, and doing service to his country; to which I readily agreed.

We saw the King at dinner, who, remembering he had seen me at Court with the Dissenting ministers in and about the City, whispered to a courtier near him, who sent one of the yeomen of the guard directly to me. He told me it was desired that my friend and I would go in, to the side-board and drink his Majesty's health in a glass of old hock; which was a favour wholly unthought of. Dinner was no sooner over, than the Lord in waiting introduced Mr. Gowan to the King, and his desire was answered.

August 16. Prince Eugene obtained a signal victory over the Turkish forces near Belgrade.

August 30. Died at Hartlebury Castle, Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Worcester, in the ninety-first year of his age. Dr. Hough, Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, was translated to Worcester, and Dr. Edward Chandler was made Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry.

Dr. Lloyd was eminent all over Europe, for his

peculiar skill in chronology. He had also taken much pains in studying the prophecy of Daniel, and the Revelation of St. John,* had a very prophetic genius, and was peculiarly nice in his calculations of the sacred periods, and as to the particular seasons, when predictions about futurities had been, or were to be accomplished.†

He very particularly and distinctly foretold the

* The Bishop "had also taken much pains in studying," and preserving, for the illumination of posterity, the gossips' tales of "a warming pan," &c. in 1688. Speaking of "the various reports, both then and afterwards, spread of this matter," Burnet adds: "of which Bishop Lloyd has a great collection, most of them well attested." See "Own Time," i. 754.—Ed.

† Referring, 1698, to the just concluded peace of Carlowitz. Burnet says:—

"Dr. Lloyd, the present most learned Bishop of Worcester, who has now, for above twenty years been studying the Revelations with an amazing diligence and exactness, had, long before this year, said, the peace between the Turks and the Papal Christians was certainly to be made in 1698.

"After this, he thinks their time of hurting the Papal Christians is at an end. They may, indeed, still do mischief to the Muscovites, or persecute their own Christian subjects, but they can do no hurt to the Papalins. He is so positive in this, that he consents that all his scheme shall be laid aside, if the Turk engages in a new war with them." See "Own Time," ii. 204, 205.

How fatal to the Bishop's "scheme," were the contests between "the Turkish forces," and those "Papal Christians," the Imperialists, under Whiston's hero of the Revelation: (see *supra* p. 250, *note*,) though the right reverend seer, more adroitly provided for an indefinite continuance of "mischief to the Muscovites."—Ed.

return of the Vaudois of Piedmont, (those venerable remains of the primitive Christians) into their own country, after they had been for some time excluded from thence, soon after the Revolution compassed by King William.* Two young persons belonging to that country had spent some time in England, one of them a minister, and the other a schoolmaster. He (as I was informed by themselves) upon their taking leave of him, straightly charged them to apply to their proper business with great industry and care, telling them, that if they lived to the year 1716, they might hope to be in a manner able, standing on the top of their mountains, and lifting up their hands, to warm themselves with the flames of the City of Rome, which would then be consumed to ashes.†

* See vol. i. p. 217.—Ed.

† In defiance of modern prophecy, "the eternal City" is yet standing, the favourite attraction of curiosity and taste; even though destined to have been "consumed to ashes," seventy years before the date determined by Bishop Lloyd. The end of the world was fixed by the same *soi-disant* prophet, at 1711: according to the following advertisement:

"Romæ ruina finalis, Anno Dom. 1666; mundique finis, sub quadragesimum quintum post annum; or a treatise wherein is declared, that, Babylon in the Revelation, is Pontificial Rome; and the Pope, Antichrist: and that Rome will be utterly destroyed, and laid in ashes in the year, 1666. Sold by S. Thompson, at the White Horse, in Paul's Church-yard, and John Shirley, at the Pelican, in Little Britain." *Mercurius Politicus*, (1656) No. 319.

Bishop Lloyd, in his rare endowment of English *second sight*, had for a colleague "Mr. Partridge, the astrologer;" who, accord-

It has been also commonly said, that when the Frenchified party among us were so bent upon making peace in the reign of Queen Anne, that there was no diverting them, he upon his coming to Court, freely told them, that their scheme would not hold; nor was it, as things stood, in the power of man to make a durable peace in Europe. Let them come to an agreement of one or another sort, they might call it peace if they would, but it would last but a very little while; and there would be no preventing a new war, which would certainly break out, ere long, and have very affecting consequences.

There were great debates in Parliament about the Bill for vesting the forfeited estates in Great Britain and Ireland, in trustees, to be sold for the use of the public. This year was also remarkable, among us, for the establishment of the Sinking Fund, for paying off the national debts; which sinking fund is the surplus of the produce of our customs and excises, after the payment of the civil list and the interest of the national debt.

November 2. The Princess of Wales was safely

ing to Dr. Calamy, as confidently determined the early destruction of Rome, though, as to exact dates, availing himself of a reserve which credited his prudence, whatever became of his prophecy. See vol. i. pp. 180, 181.

It is, I think, Calvin, who, somewhere, says, that the scriptural predictions were not designed to make prophets; and that the Revelation, if read without this caution, will either find a man mad, or make him so.—Ed.

delivered of a Prince at St. James's, upon which the King and their Royal Highnesses were very generally complimented. On the 28th the new born Prince (who lived but a little while,) was baptized by the Archbishop of Canterbury; the King and the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Chamberlain, being godfathers, and the Duchess of St. Alban's godmother. The solemnity was no sooner over, than the Prince of Wales took occasion to fall out with the Duke of Newcastle. His Majesty was so displeased, as to order the Prince's retiring from the Palace at St. James's;* and there was an unhappy difference in the Royal Family, which continued a good while, and had many ill effects. It was a great grief and trouble to the hearty lovers of the House of Hanover. An account hereof (dated December 14, N. S. 1717,) was by his Majesty's order transmitted to other Courts.

Nov. 21. Our King met his Parliament. In his

* This occasioned the retiring of the Prince and Princess to Leicester-fields, where they lived very privately, without any guards to attend them; such as were about them not being allowed to wait on his Majesty.—C.

"December 24. His Majesty signified his pleasure to the Peers and Peeresses of Great Britain and Ireland, and to all Privy Counsellors, and their wives, that if any of them should go to the Court of the Prince and Princess of Wales, they should forbear to come into his Majesty's presence." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 79.—Ed.

speech,* he had this expression: "I could heartily wish that when the common enemies of our religion are, by all manner of artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it, at home and abroad, all friends to our present happy establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper method for the greater strengthening the Protestant interest; of which, as the Church of England is unquestionably the main support and bulwark, so will she reap the principal benefit of every advantange accruing by the Union and mutual charity of all Protestants."

The Lords, in their address, harmonizing with his Majesty, expressed themselves in this manner: "We have a grateful sense of your Majesty's concern for the Protestant religion, and the Church of England, as by law established, which, as it has always been the chief of the Prostestant Churches, so can never be so well supported, as by strengthening and uniting (as far as may be) the Protestant interest."

The Commons, in their address, have these words: "As we have the most grateful sense of the tender concern which your Majesty has been pleased to express for the Protestant religion, and especially for

* "Dec. 2. Mr. Shippen, M. P. for Saltash, was sent to the Tower, for saying that 'the second paragraph in the King's speech, seemed rather calculated for the meridian of Germany, than Great Britain;' and that 'it was a great misfortune the King was a stranger to our language and constitution.'" *Chron. Hist.* ii. 78.—Ed.

the main support of it, the Church of England as by law established; so we are resolved to consider of the most effectual methods for strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms."

In December, died Charles Duke of Shrewsbury, who, though he was one of the finest gentlemen of the age, and had much to do with both parties among us, yet was not (as things fell out,) much affected at last by either of them.*

About this time the affecting case of James Sheppard, about eighteen years of age, was the common subject of conversation.† He was bred at Sarum, in Jacobite principles, in which he was more and more confirmed after coming to London, where he was an apprentice to a coach-painter in Devonshire-street, with whom he had lived about fourteen months. From books he had read, and sermons he had heard, and the company he had kept, he had imbibed a notion that King George had no right to the British crown, and became fully persuaded that the killing him would be a commendable thing, and felt a strong impulse to be the person that should do that deed, and so make way for the Pretender.

The first discovery of the matter was made by himself, who carried a treasonable letter which contained an account of his villainous design and intention to Mr. Leak, a nonjuring clergyman, which, not

* See *supra*, p. 294.—Ed.

† See "Annals of King George," year 4, p. 333, &c.—C.

finding him at home, he left for him. Mr. Leak, suspecting some trick, on reading the letter threw it into the fire. But afterwards he gave information about it to Sir John Fryer, and, according to his direction, charged a constable with Sheppard, when he called next at his house, and carried him before Sir John, who acquainted the Secretary of State with the matter, and he was committed to Newgate.

In a paper seized in this Sheppard's trunk, when what belonged to him was carefully searched, there was this expression: "How meritorious an action will it be to free these nations from an usurpation that they have lain under these nine-and-twenty years!" This created a general horror and astonishment. He was tried at the Old Bailey, convicted, and condemned,* without discovering any concern; nay, he was sometimes observed to smile in a way of derision. He was much resorted to in Newgate; and, though oft admonished by the Ordinary, of the flagitiousness of his design, yet remained unimpressed, and declared himself very easy in his mind. Among others, Mr. Orme, who officiated in a non-juring meeting in Aldersgate-street, was often with him, and owned himself to the Ordinary to be his Father confessor, and in communion with him. Sheppard also himself declared, that "he desired their prayers only, who were of his own communion."

He persisted in his obduracy even to the last, and

* March 6, 1718. *Chron. Hist.* ii. 80.—Ed.

was attended at Tyburn at the time of his execution* by the forementioned Mr. Orme, who was suspected to have penned the speech which the unhappy youth delivered to the sheriff, for which he was four days after taken into custody of a messenger. As for the speech, it was such a collection of detestable and treasonable falsehoods and invectives against his Majesty's person and title, that the Government did not think fit to allow it to be published. Yet that party with great industry, got it clandestinely printed and dispersed it about. Orme was kept a considerable time in custody, and frequently examined; but nothing appeared that made it thought proper to bring him to a trial, and so at length he was set at liberty.

But printed papers of devotion were dispersed about the town, said to be composed by Sheppard; and one of them was a strange and unaccountable rhapsody, that bore the title of "A Hymn to the ever blessed Trinity;" and they were much scrambled for and valued by that party. The picture of this young Jacobite knight-errant was also done in metzotinto, with a paper of the forementioned hymn in his hand, representing that to be the common subject of his meditations. The Government also was much insulted by Dr. Welton, Mr. Hawes,† Mr.

* March 17. *Chron. Hist.* ii. 80.—Ed.

† "Who, for twenty-five years, kept a nonjuring conventicle in his house over against St. James's Palace, where he read the Common Prayer, but omitted the naming of his Majesty. He was

Bysse,* and others of the clergy, as to whose cases I cannot think particularity to be so requisite.

The quadruple alliance between the Emperor, Great Britain, France, and the Dutch, to secure the public tranquillity by restraining the military projects of Spain, particularly with respect to Italy, engaged the attendance of all Europe. Our King was herein very forward.† There is no reason to question but the common good was intended, but it appeared in the sequel not secured by it.

convicted (April 1718,) of two offences, permitting such conventicle to be held in his house, and teaching therein, and fined 20*l.* for each. *Chron. Hist.* ii. 83.—"1717. June 19. Several of the Scotch clergy being convicted a second time of not praying for King George by name, were silenced for three years." *Ibid.* p. 73. (See *supra*, p. 164.)—Ed.

* "1718. Aug. 21. The Rev. Edward Bysse was convicted at the assizes at Wells on four informations, by the Attorney General; two for seditious sermons at his parish church, and two for seditious words against the King and Government.

"Nov. 27. He was adjudged by the King's Bench to stand twice in the pillory, to be imprisoned four years, and to find sureties for his good behaviour during life, and fined 600*l.*" *Ibid.* p. 85.—Ed.

† To encourage this forwardness the Regent sent over (Aug. 1717,) L'Abbé Dubois, who had met the King at Hanover, (*supra*, p. 370, *note.*) His Majesty was then residing at Hampton Court, where he frequently received the Ambassador, "qui l'amusait par ses contes, et ses historiettes.

"Il lui dit, entr'autres choses, que les Anglais avaient la main fort légère, et qu'en descendant de voiture ils lui avaient pris une montre d'or et une bourse de cent guinées."

For another department of this embassage extraordinary, "le Regent, dont la générosité n'avait pas de bornes," had amply provided

Prince Alexis, son of the projecting Czar of Muscovy, was about this time disinherited by his father, and not long after dispatched out of the world.*

1718. October 9. Died Dr. Richard Cumberland, Bishop of Peterborough,† author of a learned and celebrated work *De Legibus Naturæ*.‡ He was succeeded by Dr. White Kennet, Dean of the same church.

Nov. 6. The Prince de Cellamare, Embassador of Spain in France, gave great disturbance at Paris. He was put under a guard, his papers seized, and he conducted to Spain for attempting to raise a rebellion.‖ It was very commonly said that Cardinal Alberoni wrote him a letter directing him that,

vided. In the suite of the Ambassador were "les meilleurs cuisiniers de Paris." Having ascertained the royal taste, no doubt, during the audiences at Hampton Court:

"Toute la finesse de l'Abbé Dubois était employée à flatter le Roi d'Angleterre et à découvrir les choses qui plaisaient le plus à sa Majesté Britannique.

"Il faisait venir, pour ce Prince, des fromages de Cramayel, et recevait, régulièrement, à toutes les postes, les plus belles truffes que Brives pouvait fournir. Le Roi les aimait beaucoup, et faisit honneur aux présents de l'Ambassadeur.

"Les présent et galanteries de l'Abbé ne se bornaient pas à sa Majesté seule, ils s'étendaient aux maîtresses de ce Prince et à leurs femmes." See "Vie du Dubois," pp. 112, 123, 125, 126, 131.—Ed.

* *Chron. Hist.* ii. 80, 84. See Mottley's "Hist. of Russia," (1744), i. 368—372.—Ed.

† Aged 86. *Biog. Brit.* iv. 564.—Ed. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 559.—Ed.

‖ "Against the Regent," *Chron. Hist.* ii. 86.—Ed.

in case he was ordered to depart from Paris on a sudden, he should first set fire to all his mines.

December 11, N. S. Charles XII. King of Sweden, by whom the Northern parts had been for a good while greatly amused, being set down before Frederickshal in the kingdom of Denmark, there got his death, being wounded in the head by small shot.* His removal was a mighty disappointment to Cardinal Alberoni,† that prince having agreed with the Spanish court that as soon as he had taken that place he would make an invasion upon Britain, while the Duke of Ormond made an attempt upon Ireland with 8,000 men, from the port of Biscay.

War was proclaimed by our King George, against the Spaniards, at the usual place.

Dec. 13. Earl Stanhope brought into the House of Lords a bill for repealing "part of the Act of the

* Voltaire's account differs. "Une balle, pesant une demi-livre, l'avoit atteint à la tempe droite, et avoit fait un trou dans le quel on pouvoit enforcer trois doigts; sa tête étoit renversée sur le parapet.

"L'instant de sa blessure avoit été celui de sa mort; cependant il avoit eu la force, en expirant d'une maniere si subite, de mettre, par un mouvement natural, la main sur la garde de son épée, et étoit encore dans cette attitude." (See vol. i. p. 398.)

"Ainsi périt à l'âge de trente-six ans et demi, Charles XII. Roi de Suéde, après avoir éprouvé ce que la prospérité a de plus grand, et ce que l'adversité a de plus cruel, sans avoir été amolli par l'une ni ébranlé un moment par l'autre." *Histoire*, ii. 179, 180.—Ed.

† "Universal Curate of the whole Spanish monarchy." See "Tracts by Trenchard and Gordon," (1751) i. 119.—Ed.

tenth year of her late Majesty, entitled 'An Act for preserving the Protestant Religion by better securing the Church of England, and against occasional Conformity;' as also of the Act of the twelfth of her late Majesty's reign, 'to prevent the growth of Schism,* and of some clauses in the Test and Corporation Acts."

When the Bill was read, Lord Stanhope "moved that it be read a second time." He "was seconded by the Earls of Sunderland, Stamford," &c., but opposed by others with great warmth and vehemence. His Lordship "endeavoured to show the equity, reasonableness, and advantage of restoring Dissenters to their natural rights, and of easing them of stigmatizing and oppressive laws, made against them in turbulent times, and obtained by indirect methods, for no reason than because they ever showed their zealous and firm adherence to the Revolution and Protestant succession: urging that this desirable union of all true Protestants, as it would certainly strengthen the Protestant interest, so it would rather be an advantage than any prejudice to the Church of England by law established. It had a second reading, and, after close debates,† it passed the House,‡ and was sent to the Commons.

* See *supra*, pp. 243-245, 293, 294.—Ed.

† "Dec. 18, 19. The question, whether the Bill be committed was carried by eighty-six against sixty-eight." See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 110.—Ed.

‡ "By fifty-five against thirty-three." *Ibid.*—Ed.

It was there also debated and canvassed, as it had been among the Lords. Many were against committing the bill, in order to a second reading; (Mr. Robert Walpole and his brother were among them:) but it was at length committed, read a third time, and passed.*

When his Majesty closed the session,† he expressed himself in these words: "There being nothing more desirable at all times than a firm union between Protestants, I reflect with satisfaction upon the law you have passed this session, which will, I hope, prove effectual for that purpose. As it is a signal instance of moderation and indulgence in our Established Church, so I hope it will beget such a return of gratitude from all dissenting Protestants, as will greatly tend to her honour and security, both which I shall ever have near at heart." In the same speech, he signified to his Parliament that Spain had, at last, acknowledged the Pretender. We had advice, soon after, that the Spaniards were making preparations at Cadiz, against Britain.

In the course of the year (1718) I published "A Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, upon occasion of his History of England, wherein the true principles of the Revolution are defended, the Whigs and Dissenters vindicated, several persons of distinction cleared

* "The Royal Assent was given, Feb. 18, 1719."—*Chron. Hist.* ii. 88.—Ed.

† April 18, 1719. *Ibid.* pp. 89–91.—Ed.

from aspersion, and a number of historical passages rectified." This tract,* for which I had the thanks of a number of persons of rank and quality, drew forth two very angry and waspish pamphlets.

One was entitled "A Letter to Dr. Calamy, in vindication of Mr. Archdeacon Echard's History of England, wherein it is proved that the Doctor's grandfather was an incendiary, and that the Doctor is notoriously guilty of the same faults with which he charges the Reverend historian." The other is entitled "An Answer to Dr. Edmund Calamy's Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, upon occasion of his History of England; wherein the truths delivered by that author are defended, loyalty and the Church of England vindicated, several persons fairly represented, and a number of wilful mistakes rectified."

These pamphlets (that had one and the same malignant spirit running through them) were so invenomed, that I could not perceive my attempting to reply to either could answer any end; nor did any of my friends advise it. But the Archdeacon (as I was informed by several) was nettled, and went about from coffee-house to coffee-house inquiring of a variety of gentlemen into whose company he happened to fall, whether they knew Dr. Calamy, with whom he discovered a great desire of having some free conversation. Many declared they had no personal knowledge of me, while

* Dated "Westminter, Oct. 20, 1718, the day of the Coronation of King George."—Ed.

others owned they had; but thinking our conversation was not likely to answer any valuable end, discovered a backwardness towards bringing us together.

At length, meeting with Mr. Samuel Haliday, (then about this city, but afterwards pastor of a Dissenting congregation in Belfast) and putting the same question, and making the same motion to him, he both owned that he knew me well, and undertook to bring about an interview. At his request, who left it to me to fix time and place for that purpose, we agreed as to both, and met accordingly. Richard Ellys, Esq. came with me, and Mr. Haliday with the Archdeacon. We met at a coffee-house, and from thence adjourned to a glass of wine.

The Archdeacon complimented Mr. Ellys greatly, when he knew who he was, and among other things, told him that his father, Sir William, was one of the most generous English gentlemen he ever knew, and one of the best friends he had ever met with; and intimated that he thought it a great happiness that he should this way have an opportunity of being acquainted with so worthy a gentleman as his son and heir. I asked him, upon our removal from the coffee-house to the tavern, whether he was free that Mr. Ellys should go with us, and hear our conversation. To which he replied that he was for it by all means, and should count it a great happiness.

We soon entered into free conversation. I told him I heard he had been making great inquiries

after me, and searching for one to introduce him, for which I could not see any occasion; for that, if he had done me the favour of a visit, I should have been glad to see him; and that, in my opinion, men of letters should not be shy of each other. He told me, that he was therefore the more desirous to see me, because my letter having done him much mischief, he thought that I myself was the fittest person to make complaints to. I told him I was far from intending him any mischief by my letter, which was wholly designed for the service of truth, and the preventing mistakes in those that should come after us; nor could I discern why he should count this any damage to him.

He told me he could abundantly make his words good, and alleged for proof, that whereas his circumstances were but strait, and his family expenses large, he was running behindhand in the world, notwithstanding the little preferment he had obtained; and had no other way to relieve himself, but by such presents as he received from wealthy persons, upon his presenting them with such writings as he published. He added, that this History had cost him a great deal of pains, and having therein done his best, he was in hope of some considerable returns, by gifts that he might receive; that he came to town big with expectations of sharing in the bounty of some of his chief friends, many of whom gave him but cold treatment, which he found reason to ascribe

to my letter, which he therefore thought he, upon good grounds, took unkindly.

I desired him to mention some of these, his chief friends, by whom he was disappointed. The first he named was Sir Joseph Jekyl, Master of the Rolls, by whom he used to be treated very generously, and he expected now an handsome present from him, but he received him with great indifference, which he could not but take notice of; and was so free as to inquire the reason, and had this for a return, that he had seen and read "the Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard;" and he intimated that he had been told the same by several others.

I could not help pitying the poor gentleman for his weakness, in making this discovery, and indeed in the whole of his discourse, upon a variety of subjects, (Cromwell's contract with the Devil,* was not

* "You tell us," says Dr. Calamy, "a long, and very incredible story, (ii. 712,) about Cromwell's conference and contract with the Devil, on the very morning of the memorable day of the fight at Worcester. I think verily you might as well have given us an account of Dr. Faustus or the Lancashire witches." *Letter*, p. 21.

"The dialogue between Cromwell and the Devil, and of Oliver's selling his soul to Satan, for the battle of Worcester, this miserable tale, which would not bear telling to children and servants about a Christmas fire, without some humour and grimace, is related in the most solemn, serious manner, and Mr. Echard is not at all ashamed of it. Instead of retracting it, he lets it stand (p. 691) in his second edition.

"Yet he owns Cromwell's army was three times as numerous

forgotten) which we talked on while we were together. Among other things, we discoursed with great freedom about the Popish Plot, which he represented as a mere sham that had not the least foundation.* I inquired into his grounds. He told me, he could with assurance certify me, that several as wise men as any in the nation, and that had as good an opportunity of searching into matters as any men could desire, had given it him as their settled judgment that that affair had nothing of truth in it from top to bottom. I desired him to tell me the names of some of these.

He began with Sir William Ellys, whose wisdom he applauded, who had delivered this to him as his sense, many and many a time. Upon this, I delivered him over to his son that was present, who talked to him with great frankness and openness, blamed him for not distinguishing between some mistakes that might have been committed in the

as King Charles the Second's, besides their being, most, veterans, against raw and undisciplined men. It was a sad bargain, therefore, to damn himself for a victory, when he had three to one, of his side." See "Critical Hist. of England," (1726) pp. 147, 225.—Ed.

* For this censured representation, now the "mere sham" has been so well ascertained, (see vol. i. p. 82, *note*) the Archdeacon must appear to great advantage, especially if compared with those easy believers, Dr. Calamy, and his Nonconformist contemporaries. Too many of these were credulous of any calumny, which might justify the restraint, or proscription of Catholics, and thus maintain the usurpation of Protestant ascendancy.—Ed.

management of that affair, and representing the whole as a forgery; and charged him with great imprudence in exposing persons by publishing private conversation, in which he was often guilty of gross mistakes, &c. The Archdeacon appeared not a little mortified. However, he put into my hands a letter, with which he came provided, which he desired me to read at my leisure.

This letter has a pretty odd mixture in it. He visited me afterwards divers times, and we had free discourse upon a variety of subjects. I found he would fain be thought to mean well; but seemed to me to have the least knowledge of the world of any man I ever knew, that made so much noise in it.

About the same time, sad heats arose among the Dissenters, who no sooner had that relief from the Government, which they had expected and waited for with some impatience, than they fell to pieces, and where thereby not a little exposed and weakened. They might, indeed, have learnt sufficiently from their past experience, the mischief of quarrels and brangles, for which they had so much smarted. Had they now been duly cautious and well advised, they might easily have perceived that was a time to have come to a closer union among themselves; and no season more proper.

The thoughts of several were working that way, and some previous steps had been taken. But jealousies and animosities arising, they broke into two

parties, with as much eagerness, as if they had been bent on the overthrow of each other, as the greatest happiness they could have hopes of reaching. Many were surprised at their heats, which were grossly imprudent, and very much owing to the agency of certain gentlemen, on both sides, by whom the ministers among the Dissenters were but too much influenced, though many were not aware of it till afterwards; nor did those gentlemen themselves, I believe, foresee what consequences would follow, upon the measures they pursued.

The state of the case was this. There were some members of the Commons who had deserted the worshipping assemblies of the Dissenters which they formerly frequented, and who, in the foregoing reign (when, if they had really been disposed to it, they might have done them some service) not only trifled with them, but had been charged with betraying them and their interest, notwithstanding their pretences of a remaining friendship for them. These persons seemed inclined now, as the repealing Act went forward, to oppose the very first thing attempted in their favour, in a Parliamentary way, after the accession of King George. Or, if they did not make a downright opposition, they at least bespattered, and by a side wind blasted them, and endeavoured to clog the Bill depending, by moving for the adding to it a sort of test, in relation to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as to which the body of the Dissenters

were (unkindly and without any just ground) represented as wavering and unsettled.

Mr. Peirce, of Exeter,* (but a single man, though in good repute) was particularly mentioned as an erroneous person that had a considerable influence upon others. Perhaps two or three more might have been singled out, that were in his notions. They declared, they thought it highly expedient, in order to securing soundness in the faith, in this capital article of religion, amongst those that should have any benefit by this Bill, whether there were any particular grounds to suspect them, or not.

This motion was thought very unreasonable by some, and not a little resented. It particularly raised the indignation of a certain gentleman† who, not only continued all along to worship God in public with the Dissenters, but had interested himself much in their affairs, and done them good service, by application, upon occasion, to persons of eminence and distinction, on their behalf, and had had a good hand in forwarding this very Bill, until it passed into an Act. Perhaps also, this gentleman, himself, might, in some respects, have overdone the matter, not only by his taking more upon him than was thought well of, in the private committee of the

* The fifth volume of "Annals of George I." is dedicated to him.—C. See "Shute," *infra*, p. 414.—Ed.

† See *supra*, pp. 262-265.—Ed.

Dissenters, but also in teazing persons of rank and distinction in their favour, and been more positive in his demands on their behalf, from Ministers of State, than they well knew how to bear. This might heighten the opposition made in this case, and cause it to be attended with the more warmth.

However, he was fully of opinion that he and his friends, to whom he declared himself a firm adherent, had been too serviceable to the public to be neglected, when he with vehemence opposed a test of this sort, which the gentlemen above-mentioned moved for with earnestness. And, having a particular friendship for Mr. Peirce, he resolved to bestir himself in his favour, not only among the Dissenting ministers, but also among the gentlemen that were their adherents, in order to the saving him from the storm that threatened him at Exeter, which he seemed to look upon as his main concern, as soon as the motion for such a doctrinal test among the Dissenters was outvoted, in the House of Commons.*

As to Mr. Peirce, of whom somewhat has been said before (under *An.* 1713,) no man could be more courted by any people, than he was to settle in that city: nor could any man be more beloved by those

* "Feb. 18, 1718, 19. It was proposed, that persons who came to qualify themselves for an office, should acknowledge the Holy Scriptures to be of divine inspiration, and their faith in the Holy Trinity. But this was rejected, as too great a restraint upon free-born Englishmen." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 88.—Ed.

among whom he laboured, than he was for a good while. But at length, (influenced by some, willing to show their particular zeal for orthodoxy) they began to suspect that he was not sound in the doctrine of the Trinity, and as to the union of Father, Son and Holy Ghost in one Deity. He was not willing to give them satisfaction as to his orthodoxy, in the way in which they desired it, nor to declare some things to be truths and errors, that the leading men among them took to be such. Hence arose a great uneasiness, which some standers by increased, either through weakness or design, instead of taking pains to abate or lessen it. Hence, also, arose jealousies, debates and contests, which set ministers and people in those parts together by the ears. Letters drawn up with great warmth and keenness came from thence to London.*

The differences about the Trinity, in Exeter, were brought into the Assembly of Ministers, in that city,† which, according to course, met in September this year. They, after great debates, pretty generally gave it as their sense, that there was but one God,‡ and that the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost is that one God. But the contention

* See "a plain and faithful Narrative of the Differences among the Dissenters at Exeter, relating to the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity, so far as gave concern to some London Ministers."—C.

† See "Monthly Repos." (1810) iv. 251–253; xii. 385. 523. 580; xvi. 199.—Ed.

‡ A strange subject, for "debates," among *Christians*.—Ed.

afterwards rather increased than abated. Had the Dissenters of Exeter hereupon agreed to a general meeting, and taken care to have all summoned that used to give their votes in the election of ministers, for the several worshipping assemblies among them, and freely and fairly put it to the vote of all in common, whether or not Mr. Peirce should not upon the account of the unsuitableness and disagreeableness of his notions to a majority of them, have been desired to have removed to some other place, where the sentiments, that he now appeared to entertain, might be more agreeable, and so carried it against him, neither would there have been so much reason to charge the active managers with proceeding unsuitably to their own avowed principles, nor would he himself have had so much reason for objecting against their excluding him, as in the way they took, of confining the consideration of matters of the last importance to a committee, not chosen by the whole body for that purpose. Many writings, hereupon, swarmed from the press.*

* Mr. Peirce published "the State of their case at Exeter." In answer came out "An Account of the Reasons why many citizens of Exeter have withdrawn from the ministry of Mr. Joseph Hallett, and Mr. James Peirce." Mr. Peirce wrote "A Defence of the Case in answer to the gentlemen's Reasons." This was followed with "A Defence of the Account," and "A Justification of the Case, in answer to that Defence."

As to Doctrinals, there was published, "A Letter to a Dissenter in Exeter, occasioned by the late heats in those parts, upon some difference of sentiments among the Brethren." Upon

The committee at Exeter, in concert with some ministers in that neighbourhood, wrote to several ministers in London, desiring advice. Answers were returned; some more mild, others more warm. Mr. Peirce also wrote to some, that he thought he had an interest in, requesting their help to compose matters at Exeter. When this correspondence had been carried on for some time, and been considered in the London Committee, it was pretty generally agreed to lay the matter before the whole body of the Dissenting Ministers in and about London; that so what was done might have the more weight.

Two different views might easily be discerned among the two parties that were to meet upon this occasion. Each aimed at appearing as large and considerable as they were able. Yet both depending on their own strength, concurred in publicly debating about the matters under consideration. This, I must acknowledge, I from the first declared against, for fear of a rupture, which I thought might be foreseen without much difficulty.

which some remarks were made, in "A calm Defence of the Deity of Jesus Christ," by Mr. John Moore, of Tiverton. Some time after was added, "The calm Defence of the Deity of Jesus Christ continued and maintained against the Reasonings and Exceptions of the author of a Letter to a Dissenter at Exeter, being a Reply to his plain Christianity defended, 3d and 4th Parts," by the same author; "The Innocent vindicated," an answer to Mr. Tregosse's arguments: "A Discourse of the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity," by Mr. Eveleigh: "Arius detected and confuted," &c.—C.

When the Body met, one party was full of zeal for certain "Advices," in order to the preventing a breach at Exeter, or other parts, about such matters as those that were now debated. The other party was as zealous to the full, for declaring their orthodoxy upon the doctrine of the Trinity, that so they might clear up their reputation (which, by the way, no one had any reason to call in question) and appear the fitter to give advice to others. Not being able to agree in this, they sadly squabbled. This was followed with many other differences.

At the very beginning of the heat in this case, complaint was made in print to Dr. Hoadly, the bishop of Bangor,* who was, evidently, a party unconcerned. The attempting to bring him into it, or appeal to him about it, was, for that reason, thought by many a step preposterous and improper. They could not imagine what his Lordship had to do with them, any more than his neighbours, when he had not (at that time at least) discovered any great regard to them.†

However, in the Letter published on this subject,

* "1719. April. Great divisions among the Dissenting teachers; one part being for imposing a test of their belief of the Trinity. The others declare it not necessary to profess their belief of the Trinity in any other words than are found in the New Testament, and that the framing and imposing of creeds was mere popery. These were the majority, and pretended to cite Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Bangor, as favouring this opinion." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 91.—Ed.

† Yet see *supra*, pp. 377, 378.—Ed.

the Dissenters are freely charged with narrowness of principle, and an uncharitable spirit; and, whatever might be said to the prudence and seasonableness of the letter, or the truth of the charge brought, the writer discovered an acrimony that was far from being thought becoming. Some time after, followed "A Letter of Advice to the Dissenters," apprehended by several, to be drawn up by the same hand.

Warm complaints were made of the subscribing Ministers as betraying their principles, and of those non-subscribing as not sufficiently zealous for truth; and of particular persons among both, as too free in their censures and invectives. Warm complaints were also made of the gentlemen concerned in the distribution of Lord Wharton's* charity to poor Dissenting Ministers. They were said to pursue the motion made in Parliament, for a discriminating test by a positive determination, that no non-subscriber, however otherwise qualified, should have any share in that charity. Such as said the least, bid the fairest for being the most easy.

The flame flew from Exeter to London, even when the "Advices" to be sent thither from hence were under consideration. Those "Advices" had been canvassed in private consultations and debates, and were at length considered in some meetings of elder ministers and young candidates, together, of the three denominations, at Salter's Hall.

* Philip, to whom Cotton Mather dedicated his "Life of Eliot," (third edition, 1694,) as to "a no less noble than aged patron of learning and virtue."

It so fell out, that, when they met, they could not agree whether they should first give their advice, and then prove and clear their orthodoxy; or first manifest their orthodoxy, and then give advice. Supposing a subscription requisite and proper, it was queried by some with warmth and earnestness, whether it was not sufficient, to be made to the words and expressions of Scripture, or whether needful to be made to some human form. At last, they divided into Subscribers and Non-subscribers,* and both sent "Advices" to Exeter, though of a different nature.

"The Letter sent to Exeter with the Advices," by the Non-subscribers, was dated March 17, and signed by Dr. Joshua Oldfield, in the name of the majority at the first and most remarkable division.† It came too late to prevent the breach. For, two days before the date, viz. on March 15,‡ Mr. Peirce had preached a sermon upon "The Evil and Cure of Divisions," in his new Meeting at Exeter, and he afterwards printed it. "The Advices for peace,"

* See "Monthly Repos." (1816) xi. 411, 412.- Ed.

† See "An authentic account of several things, done and agreed upon, by the Dissenting Ministers, lately assembled at Salter's Hall." (1719) pp. 13—16.

These "non-subscribers," say "we utterly disown the Arian doctrine, and sincerely believe the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, and the proper Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ." *Ibid.* p. 15.—Ed.

‡ "1718, 19. Being the first Lord's Day after the ejectment of the Ministers." See Peirce's *Sermons*, (1728) p. 114.—Ed.

sent to Exeter, to both parties by the Subscribers, were not dispatched till April 7.*

The Meeting at Salter's Hall, in which the question was proposed, whether in the advices that were under consideration for Exeter, there should be any particular declaration of their faith in the Holy Trinity, was February 24, (1719) when it was carried in the negative by four votes. The actual subscription upon a new division, that was managed with no small indecency, was on March 3, following. These things which fell out at the time when the United became the divided ministers, then made a great noise, and the particulars were in the mouths of every one.

As to myself, I distinctly foresaw the quarrel, and its consequences; and before it rose to a height, took up a resolution to have no hand in it.† I was,

* They may be seen in "The true relation of some proceedings at Salter's Hall, by those ministers who signed the first article of the Church of England, and the answer to the fifth and sixth questions in the Assembly's Catechism; together with the answer returned by the Exeter gentlemen."—Ed.

† Dr. Kippis, who had a sight of the author's MS. by favour of his family, remarks on this passage, that "Dr. Calamy lost some credit by not being one of the seventy-three ministers, who carried it against sixty-nine, for the Bible, in opposition to human formularies." *Biog. Brit.* iii. 144.

Yet, Dr. Calamy might have a reason against interference, of which his biographer could scarcely be aware; as it does not appear in his MS.

"The Act for exempting their Majesties' subjects, dissenting from the Church of England from the penalties of certain laws," received

indeed, at one private meeting, upon occasion of an answer to a letter from Exeter, directed to me in

received the Royal Assent, May 24, 1689. It is commonly called "The Toleration Act," though incorrectly described by Dr. Calamy, as "The Act for liberty of conscience." *Abridgment*, p. 444.

This Act, indeed, proposed to afford "some ease to scrupulous consciences." Yet it left exposed to all former penalties, and indeed marked out for criminal prosecution, "any preacher or teacher," who had not "subscribed" the Thirty-nine Articles "except the 34th, 35th, and 36th, and those words of the 20th, "the Church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith." This subscription was commuted in 1779, for a declaration of belief in the Bible.

It is now ascertained by his own admission, though, probably, it had been known to very few of his contemporaries, that our author had never qualified, according to the general practice, under the Act. Mr. John Fox, (first quoted, *supra*, p. 312, *note*) a student for the Dissenting Ministry, thus speaks of his introduction to Dr. Calamy, in 1713, on his "journey into the West of England," (*supra*, p. 262.)

"The Doctor received me with great civility, and made me several offers of his friendship and assistance when I should come to town. But the chief good he did me, was in making me easy about subscribing the articles. He had been told of my objections, and the difficulty I lay under. Upon which he took the first opportunity, when I was alone with him, to tell me, that I need not trouble myself on that head, for, if 'I could keep myself to myself,' (that was his expression) there was no occasion of subscribing them at all. None would ever suspect an omission, in such a case as this, or think of examining about it. He said it was his own case. He had never taken them, and was never suspected, and he trusted me with this, that I might keep his secret as well as my own." See "Monthly Repos." (1821) xvi. 135.

conjunction with four other brethren, to which answer I was the freer to set my name, because in the close of it my real sense was expressed;* viz. that we by meddling in their contest, should be in danger to "do hurt instead of good." I was so fearful of that, from what I at that time observed, that I determined to engage no farther.

Most earnestly was I pressed by those that were afterwards the Non-subscribers, to give them my company, and join in with them. And, but the very day before the grand meeting at Salter's Hall, when the division was actually made, I was as earnestly importuned by a letter signed by Mr. Jeremy Smith, Mr. William Tong, Mr. Benjamin Robinson, and Mr. Thomas Reynolds,† to be at the meeting on the day following, and (as they expressed it) "help

Dr. Calamy, in 1719, could scarcely have been prepared to unite with "the subscribers," one of whose tests was a subscription to the first of the Thirty-nine Articles. At the same time, had he joined the "non-subscribers," their opponents might have been roused to investigation, and his "secret" no longer kept. Thus he was, probably, incapable of securing the "credit," of which his biographer regrets his loss, and an inflexible "resolution to have no hand in the quarrel," was, *rebus sic stantibus*, the only alternative.—Ed.

* See "A plain and faithful Narrative of the Differences among the Dissenters at Exeter, relating to the Doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity, so far as they gave concern to some London Ministers." pp. 24–26.—C.

† "Accounted the principal leaders on one side in this dispute." See "A Letter, &c. by a Layman," (1719) p. 3.—Ed.

to prevent Mr. Barrington Shute's endeavour to break the body of ministers to pieces." But I sent them word that I was for following the advice of Solomon, in "leaving off contention, before it was meddled with;" and was very apprehensive that the number of those that were designed to meet together on the present occasion, especially at a time when the spirits of so many were plainly exasperated, would in the event make matters worse, and rather increase the flame than abate or extinguish it. Therefore, they must excuse me.

Afterwards, in the evening of the same day, they sent to me worthy Mr. Chalmers, Principal of the Old College in Aberdeen, in North Britain, (who happening to be then in town, was under a very great concern to observe what posture things were in at that time among us) who strenuously argued with me about being present at the Meeting intended. He told me, with great frankness, he could not see how I could satisfy my conscience as things then stood, to forbear making my appearance, and declaring for the true eternal divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, (which he was satisfied I as firmly believed as any man whatever,) when it was under debate.

I told him, that, as for the true eternal divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, I was very ready to declare for it, at that time or any other, and durst not in conscience be at all backward to it. But I could upon good grounds assure him, that was not the point in question among those that were to meet to-

gether on the day following; that certain gentlemen behind the curtain had so influenced their respective friends, for two different ways and methods to which they severally inclined, that as they appeared disposed, a fierce contention and a shameful breach was in my apprehension unavoidable.

He told me, that in his apprehension, I ought for that reason the rather to be at the Meeting designed, that I might do what lay in my power to prevent the rising mischief. Withal, he was pleased to signify his hope that, if I was but present, I might have some influence. To which I made answer that, if I could discern any reason to imagine, that my being there would either do good or prevent mischief, I should not fail. But I told him withal, that having turned the matter over and over in my thoughts, the only way that I could pitch upon for either, was, by means of a flying squadron, to be ready to join in, either with one side or the other, as occasion should serve, in order to the keeping of peace, and preventing a shameful rupture. But that, though I had privately made an essay for somewhat of that nature, yet I could not find that, as matters stood, there was any rational prospect of bringing such a design to bear, for want of weight, resolution, or number of the persons of whom such a squadron could be supposed to be made up. Therefore, I thought it my duty, out of prudence, to forbear meddling, unless I could do it to some better purpose than I could discern to be in any way likely.

He was with me again on the morning of the day appointed for the grand meeting, and then urged me with fresh importunity to attend it; with an insinuation that, if I absented from my brethren upon this occasion, he was apprehensive my orthodoxy might be afterwards called in question by some, which, he said, he was troubled at the thoughts of, because it might affect my future usefulness. I told him that was a consideration that little moved me, because I could defy any man to touch my reputation upon that head. I added, that being in a course of sermons on the Trinity, in the Tuesday's lecture at Salter's Hall, I should there have a fair opportunity of clearing myself, if any should take the liberty to cast any reflections. And, whereas, I could easily foresee there would be great heat, and miserable quarreling in the public meeting, it would be an advantage to me afterwards, to be able to say, I had not the least concern in the difference.

When the meeting at Salter's Hall was over, at which Mr. Chalmers was present, seeing and hearing what was done and said, and I saw him next, he freely declared, that he entirely knocked under, and was convinced most fully that I was in the right, and he in the wrong; and that, as he never saw nor heard of such strange conduct and management before, so he was heartily glad I was not there. By my absence then, I kept myself out of their squabbles and brangles afterwards. And, though I read what was published on both

sides, and that sometimes, with no small concern and trouble, yet I fell not entirely in, either with the Subscribers or Non-subscribers, but respected and kept up my correspondence with both, and received civilities from each.

As to the grand matter which they contended about, I was entirely of the mind of the celebrated Mr. Chillingworth, who closes his preface to "The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation," with these memorable words: "Let all men believe the Scripture, and that only, and endeavour to believe it in the true sense, and require no more of others; and they shall find this not only a better, but the only means to suppress heresy, and restore unity. For, he that believes the Scripture sincerely, and endeavours to believe it in the true sense, cannot possibly be an heretic. And if no more than this were required of any man to make him capable of the Church's communion, then all men so qualified, though they were different in opinion, yet, notwithstanding any such difference, must be of necessity one in communion."

The division being once formed, the Subscribers very warmly justified their proceedings, not without insinuations how much they were in the wrong that did not do as they. The Non-subscribers as warmly justified their keeping from Subscribing, the attempting and introducing of which they represented as an innovation and imposition, and a running counter to their own avowed principles. The two

parties fell heartily together by the ears, and filled the whole city with their noise and clamour, and little stories were fetched and carried about, to the inflaming matters, day after day. In the mean time, among the standers-by, some greatly rejoiced at their exposing themselves so wretchedly. Others as heartily mourned and grieved in secret, at their bitter animosity and contention; and religion sadly suffered from their invectives against each other.

They first fought with angry advertisements, and began to squabble in the newspapers. "The Whitehall Evening Post," "Mist's Journal," and the "Flying Post," were made use of to convey the report of their contentions to all parts of city and country. Though those papers might perhaps for a little while sell the better upon that account; yet were facts therein, so very differently represented, that people were, generally, rather amazed and confounded than satisfied. Therefore they came next to pamphlets, which were poured forth from the press in abundance.*

* An account was given of the proceedings of the Ministers in "A Letter to Doctor Gale." Then came "The Noble Stand," in three parts, written by Mr. Wilcox. Mr. Thomas Bradbury wrote "an Answer to some Reproaches," &c. and was answered by a Layman. He also wrote "A Letter to John Barrington Shute, Esq." Then was published, "An Appeal to the Dissenting Ministers, occasioned by the behaviour of Mr. Thomas Bradbury."

There followed "An Impartial State of the late differences among the Dissenting Ministers at Salter's Hall;" "A true Relation of some Proceedings at Salter's Hall." "Animadver-

1719, March 10. King George, in his speech to his two Houses, declared that he had received re-

sions on the true Relation;" and "A Letter to a Subscribing Minister in defence of those Animadversions;" by Mr. James Peirce. "An authentic Account of several things done and agreed upon by the Dissenting Ministers lately assembled at Salter's Hall." "A Vindication of the Subscribing Ministers, in Answer to a late paper, entitled An Authentic Account," &c. "A Reply to the Subscribing Ministers' Reasons in their Vindication, in two parts, by a Committee of the Non-subscribers." "A sober Defence of the Reverend Ministers, who by a Subscription have lately declared their Faith in the Doctrine of the Trinity; in an humble address to the Reverend Ministers who were otherwise minded." "A Conciliatory Letter relating to the late Proceedings at Salter's Hall." "An Apology for both Parties in the present disputes among the London Ministers, with propositions for peace." "Seasonable Advice relating to the present Disputes about the Holy Trinity;" addressed to both contending parties. "A Charge of Partiality, Imposition, and assuming authority in matters of Faith, fixed on the Subscribers." "The Unreasonableness of the Charge of Imposition, exhibited against several Dissenting Ministers in and about London, considered by Thomas Ridgley." "An Essay concerning our Obligations to hold Communion with all that own the Letter of the Bible," wherein the arguments for and against it are considered. "Christian liberty asserted, in opposition to Protestant Popery;" in a letter to Mr. Thomas Bradbury. "Some plain and short Arguments from Scripture proving the Lord Jesus Christ to be the Supreme God, or one and the same God with the Father, notwithstanding his acknowledged inferiority to the Father, with respect to his human nature, and mediatorship," &c.

At length, by way of diversion, (though in reality, this contention was very likely to have too bad consequences, for it to be a fit or proper subject for banter or ridicule) a letter was drawn

peated advices from abroad, that an invasion would suddenly be attempted from Spain against his dominions, in favour of the Pretender. A manifesto had been published, in his favour, at Madrid, Feb. 20. Therein he is said to be "of the male and Catholic line of the family of Stuart." He was received with all imaginable honours.* April 3, he went to reside at Valadolid.

A fleet actually did set sail from Cadiz, but they were dispersed in a storm, to the no small mortification both of the Spaniards, and of our Jacobites, and malecontents, who had great expectations from them. Don Baltazar de Guevara, the Spanish admiral, made a hard shift to get back to Cadiz. Some of the ships put into Lisbon, and other ports of Portugal, and some into Vigo; but all in a very miserable condition, and some were missing. However, the Earls of Seaforth, Marischal, and the Marquis of Tullybardine, landed in North Britian, with about 400 men, at Kintail, where they waited to

up and printed, to John Clarke the bookseller, who printed the pamphlets, and got money by this quarrel on both hands. He was therein charged with being "a man of two faces," and "dealing out scandal on both sides."

He that purchased all the warm pamphlets that came out in this contest must have been at the expense of some pounds. Whoso is at the pains to read them all over, will hardly find any thing more deserving of regard, than the tracts of Mr. John Hughes of Ware, and what was written by Dr. Cumming and Dr. Evans about "Scripture Consequences."—C.

* "Shown to a crowned head." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 89.—Ed.

hear of the Duke of Ormond,* from England or Ireland.† But though they were joined by a number of the Scots, yet they were defeated by Major-General Wightman.‡

It had been intimated by the Duke of Somerset, (Feb. 28) "that the number of Peers being of late years very much increased, especially since the Union of the two kingdoms, it seemed absolutely necessary to fix the same; both to preserve the dignity of the Peerage, and to prevent the inconveniences that may attend the creation of a great number of Peers to serve a present purpose, of which they had a remarkable instance in the late reign."§ He therefore, "moved for bringing in a Bill to settle and limit the Peerage in such a manner, that the number of English Peers should not be enlarged beyond six above the present number (which on failure of male issue might be supplied by new creations;) and that, instead of sixteen elective Peers, twenty-five be made hereditary on the part of Scotland, whose number upon failure of heirs male, should be supplied by other Scottish Peers.

"The Duke of Argyle seconded this motion,

* "March 15. A Proclamation, offering 5000*l.* for apprehending the Duke of Ormond, 1000*l.* for every other Peer attainted, and 500*l.* for every gentleman." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 88, 89.—Ed.

† See "Annals of King George," Year 5, pp. 251, 252.—C.

‡ "June 10." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 92; see *supra*, p. 330.—Ed.

§ See *supra*, p. 247.—Ed.

which was also backed by the Earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. A message (March 2) was brought by Earl Stanhope from the King, that his Majesty had "so much at heart the settling the Peerage of the whole kingdom, upon such a foundation as might secure the freedom and constitution of Parliament in all future ages, that he was willing his prerogative should not stand in the way of so great and necessary a work." Hereupon followed close and warm debates. A Bill was drawn up, read twice, and ordered to be ingrossed; but before it came to a third reading, it was thought advisable to let the matter lie still, till a more proper opportunity, because of the heat it was likely to occasion.*

May 11. The King embarked at Gravesend for Holland, and travelled from thence to his hereditary dominions, leaving thirteen Lords Justices, to manage the government here. During his residence at Hanover, accounts were brought him of the persecution of the Protestants in the empire; upon which very pressing instances were made to the Elector Palatine and others, to obtain a redress of their grievances. There was an interview upon this occasion between their Britannic and Prussian Majesties, which was highly pleasing to the Protestant powers.

* See "Annals of King George," Year 5, p. 213.—C.

See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 110-116. The Peers now amounted to 178, besides the 16 Scotch. At the accession of James, they were only 59. *Ibid.* p. 115.—Ed.

June 17. Joseph Addison, Esq. one of the politest gentlemen of the age, died* of an asthma and dropsy, at Holland House, near Kensington.

July 1. The Duke of Bolton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in his speech to the Parliament, recommended "a good agreement and Union among all Protestants," which the numbers as well as strict Union of the Papists among themselves, together with their apparent inclinations and attachment to the interest of the Pretender, seemed to make more immediately necessary.

The Lords in their address upon this speech, did assure his Majesty, that they would take into timely and serious consideration, what might be the most proper method, (not inconsistent with the security of the Constitution in Church and State) to render all Protestants more useful, and more capable of supporting the Protestant interest.

The Commons also harmonized; and they soon after passed a Bill, intitled "An Act for rendering the Protestant Dissenters more useful, and more capable of supporting the Protestant interest of that kingdom; and for exempting them from certain penalties."

We had frequent alarms this year from the Spaniards. News came from Paris of a landing upon us, designed by the Duke of Ormond, and some other rebel officers that had formerly made their escape. This advice came from our Ambassador,

* Aged 47.—Ed.

the Lord Stair, who behaved so gloriously in that station. The Lords Justices, accordingly, made suitable preparations, in the absence of his Majesty. Considering all things, we had no reason to wonder at any thing of this kind. After such a storm here in Britain, it was natural enough for such as fled from justice, to be uneasy, and impatient to return; to engage in new contrivances against the Government; and to stir up their friends abroad, and their agents at home, to give what trouble and uneasiness they could to the Prince at Helm, who had abundant reason to be jealous of them. They did the former, by raising what force they could to appear formidable; and the latter, by sending instructions to their friends in both Houses of Parliament, in what manner they might subserve their designs. The method they put them upon was very popular; viz. by declamations against evil ministers, and protestations against public wrongs, &c.*

His Majesty returned from abroad, to St. James's, November 14, and on the twenty-third the Parliament met. The King in his speech, complained of the "many undeserved and unnatural troubles he had met with, during the course of his reign. The divisions at home had been magnified abroad, and by inspiring into some foreign powers a false opinion of our force, had encouraged them to treat us in a manner which the Crown of Great Britain should never endure while he wore it." He added, that

* See "the Life of Dr. Francis Atterbury," p. 79.—C.

"the trouble and expense which this had brought upon us, had been the most loudly complained of by those who were the occasion of them," &c. Dutiful addresses were made by both Houses. The Lords took particular notice of his Majesty's seasonable interposition in favour of the Protestants abroad.

November 25. The Peerage Bill was again brought into the House of Lords, by the Duke of Buckingham.* It was committed to a committee of the whole House, passed on the last day of the month, and sent to the Commons.† There it was debated, and much was said upon it within doors, and written about it without doors; but there it stopped, without being returned to the Upper House.‡

The former heats and feuds among the Dissenters had continued this year, both at Exeter and London, though prevented in some other parts of the nation, (notwithstanding strenuous endeavours used to draw them into an imitation,) by ministers refusing to exact a positive declaration upon the head of the Trinity, of those of whom they had no ground or occasion to be suspicious. The undisturbed peace of ministers and people, while they acted upon that principle, was a proof how much they were in the right.

* See "Annals of King George," year 6, p. 69.—C.

† See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 119, 120.—Ed.

‡ "It was carried in the negative, by 269 against 177." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 94.—Ed.

In May, there was another assembly, according to custom at Exeter, and soon after there came out of the press, "A true Account of what was transacted in the Assembly of the United Ministers of Devon and Cornwall met at Exon, May 5 and 6, 1719," which was said to be "published by order of the assembly, to prevent misrepresentation." This "Account" contained the voluntary declaration the ministers made of their faith concerning the doctrine of the Sacred Trinity as revealed in the Holy Scriptures; their resolution with respect to the admission of persons to preach as candidates to be ordained, and recommended to congregations; their letter of advice to the people of their respective congregations, &c. to adhere steadfastly to the received doctrine of the ever blessed Trinity; and their letter to the subscribing ministers in London.*

This year also came out, "The Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, stated and defended, by some London Ministers." The "Introduction" was by Mr. William Tong: "The Question stated, and the Scripture Evidence of the Trinity proposed," by Mr. Benjamin Robinson: "The Harmony of the Reformed Churches" was drawn up by Mr. Jeremy

* Mr. Peirce published Remarks upon this Account; and Mr. Enty wrote a Defence of the Proceedings of the late Assembly at Exon, in a Reply to Mr. Peirce's Remarks. This was followed by an Answer of Mr. Peirce to Mr. Enty's Defence.—C.

On Mr. Enty, see "Monthly Repos," xvi. 325—327.—Ed.

Smith: and "Advices relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity," were added by Mr. Thomas Reynolds.*

It was proposed that a fifth part should also have been added, containing *fontes solutionum;* or, General answers to the main difficulties and objections that have been started against the doctrine of the Trinity, as delivered in the Scriptures, and generally held in the Reformed Churches. This part of the work was designed for me, and I was much pressed to undertake it. But I insisted upon being excused, both when it was proposed to me by an Exeter gentleman, as what our friends there very much desired, and urged upon me by the four brethren forementioned, who were very earnest for my joining in with them. I gave this for my reason,† which, I think, admitted of no sufficient answer, that being engaged in a Course of Sermons upon the Doctrine of the Trinity, at the Tuesday Lecture, at Salter's Hall,‡ which sermons I afterwards designed to send to the press, I thought I might very well desire to be excused from writing any thing farther about that doctrine.

However, this performance of theirs was not received with all that regard and deference they seemed to have expected. Nay, some were pretty free in their reflections. There soon came out a letter to the four gentlemen mentioned, concerning "The Regard Dissenters ought to pay to Human Forms

* See *supra*, p. 413.—Ed. † See *supra*, p. 411. *note*.—Ed.
‡ See *supra*, p. 416.—Ed.

in Matters of Faith." And Mr. Morgan* handled them but roughly in a letter he printed, entitled, "The Nature and Consequence of Enthusiasm considered, in some short Remarks on the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, stated and defended." And when Mr. Fancourt, of Sarum, published a vindication of them, to which he gave the title of "An Essay concerning Certainty and Infallibility," he renewed his attack in a second letter to them.†

There was printed, also, "A Letter to Mr. Robinson," wherein the consistency of his late conduct at Salter's Hall, with a former declaration, was considered, which was very free, as was the postscript, concerning "The Doctrine of the Trinity, stated and defended," by the four gentlemen forementioned. So also was Mr. Thomas Emlyn, in his tract, which he styled, "Remarks on a Book, entitled the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, stated and defended by four London Ministers."‡ An "Essay" was also published, "to prove that Christians are agreed in the Supreme Object of Worship, and may join together in worshipping the One God, according to the Scriptures:" with some brief "Remarks upon a

* A dissenting minister at Marlborough; afterwards M.D. In 1737, Dr. Morgan published "The Moral Philosopher," for which he has been classed among Deistical writers. See "Monthly Repos." (1818) xiii. 602, 735.—Ed.

† See his "Collection of Tracts" (1726) p. 1—150.—Ed.

‡ "With an Appendix, concerning the equality of the three persons, and M. Jurieu's testimony to the Primitive Doctrines in this point." See Emlyn's *Works*, (1746) ii. 367-427.—Ed.

late Book, published by four London Ministers." But they did not write in vindication.

The heats among the Dissenters, that first began at Exeter, and flew from thence to London, were unhappily spread this year to our brethren in the North of Ireland. At Belfast, there was a conference among the Ministers, about expedients to preserve the peace among themselves, which was occasioned by the debates among us at Salter's Hall.* It was with this conference at Belfast, that those contests in the North of Ireland first began, which at last issued in an open rupture. Several of the ministers, who were at that time present, freely declared against the imposition of any invariable forms of human composure, as tests of orthodoxy.† This was represented by many as discovering a formed design of laying aside the Westminster Confession.

I this year published a tract, entitled, "The Church and the Dissenters compared as to Persecution, in some Remarks on Dr. Walker's Attempt

* See Mr. Abernethy's "Seasonable Advice to the Protestant Dissenters, in the North of Ireland: being a defence of the late General Synod's charitable Declarations." p. 24.—C.

This "Seasonable Advice" was "first printed at Dublin in 1722, with a recommendatory Preface, by the Rev. Nath. Weld, J. Boyce, and R. Choppin;" as from "an anonymous, but judicious author." See "Tracts by Abernethy," (1751) pp. 137-214.—Ed.

† Asserting, as Abernethy expresses it, "the fallibility of human composures, and the necessity of examining all decisions of men, by Scripture." *Ibid.* p. 167.—Ed.

to recover the Names and Sufferings of the Clergy that were sequestered, between 1640 and 1660."*

1720. This year is likely to have a peculiar mark set upon it by all posterity, for the mighty change it produced in commerce and credit, which seems principally to have had its rise from the artifices of Mr. Law, the projector. He was of Scottish extraction, but meeting with encouragement from the Ministers of State in our neighbouring kingdom of France, he set up that which was called the Mississipi Company in Paris,† which, in the event, turned the common course of industry and trade into gaming, and even, like a contagion, spread its fatal influences through all parts of Europe. It operated particularly here in Britain, and not only drew many of our natives thither, in order to their sharing in the prodigious gain that was talked of, but the minds of men, of all parties and persuasions‡ among us, were taken up in projects

* See *supra*, pp. 307, 308.—Ed.

† Whence, in 1721, "he was forced to fly for his life to Venice. He paid a visit to the Chevalier at Rome. Afterwards, to the surprise of every body, he went to Hanover. He arrived in England, Oct. 23," in a king's ship, "was privately admitted at court, and visited by vast numbers of persons of distinction." See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 186.—Ed.

‡ "Clergy and Laity, Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Dissenters, Statesmen, and even ladies, turned stock-jobbers, and entirely neglected their professions and employments, to attend some bubble or other. There were other bubbles on foot, the sums proposed to be raised by which did not amount

how to get great riches, and generally intoxicated with the charms of imaginary wealth.

But their golden hopes were strangely blasted,* and they gave themselves up to lament their woeful disappointments. For a good while after, they were scarce able to talk of any thing else, but the authors of their distress, after whom they inquired with abundance of diligence, without making any great discoveries. After all their pains, they were lost in a mist. Particularly, the extravagant management of our South Sea Company,† through either the weakness and incapacity, or unsatiable avarice of the undertakers, favoured by men in power, involved the nation in strange confusion, from which we could not recover without the utmost difficulty. Most tragical complaints were made of this both in and out of Parliament.

But particular discoveries were prevented, by the

to less than three hundred millions sterling." *Ibid.* pp. 126, 127.

On this occasion "Mr. Secretary Craggs" waited on the Duchess of Kendall," offering to procure "10,000*l.* stock, and for her two nieces 5,000*l.* a piece, and for the Countess of Platen, 8 or 10,000, at 150 per cent." *Ibid.* p. 141.—Ed.

* "May 20. South Sea stock rose to 550 per cent; June 2, to 890. It held up, almost all July to between 900 and 1,000. Sept. 8, it fell to 640; 9th to 550; 19th to 400; 29th to 150. Several goldsmiths and bankers having lent great sums on South Sea stock, were forced to shut up their shops and abscond." *Ibid.* pp. 126, 127, *note.*—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 239.—Ed.

withdrawment of Mr. Robert Knight, their cashier,* who, though seized and committed abroad, yet could not be gotten home, but escaped,† carrying off (as was said,) a very considerable booty, which, though not a little grudged him by the losers and sufferers, was yet winked at by some in power, well pleased to be provided with such a screen.

After a mighty noise and bustle, that continued for several months, none were punished but the Directors and servants of the Company,‡ though it was the opinion of most people that gave way to thought and consideration, that they were but the tools of others; who were never called in question.§ This South Sea Scheme was, in a speech of the Lord Chancellor Cowper's,‖ compared to "the Trojan horse, ushered in and received with great pomp, and acclamations of joy, but contrived for treachery and destruction."

Proposals for the payment of the National Debt**

* After being "examined" before the Lords, "he embarked on board a vessel for Calais," on which there was a proclamation, offering 2,000*l.* for apprehending him." Also "twelve dispatches were immediately dispatched to ministers abroad." See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. pp. 133, 141.

† "From the Castle of Antwerp, carrying with him the serjeant appointed to guard him." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 114.—Ed.

‡ See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. pp. 129, 142, 146, 185.—Ed.

§ See "Secret History of the South Sea Scheme," in "Several Pieces of Mr. John Toland," i. 404.—C. See "Cato's Letters, Dec. 24. 1720, No. 8.—Ed.

‖ *Chron. Hist.* ii. 96.—Ed.

** In 1659, from one to three millions; in 1828, to 897. See "Diary of Burton," iii. 257.—Ed.

were now offered to the consideration of Parliament, by the Bank of England and the South Sea Company: the latter was preferred, and a Bill in their behalf, passed the Royal Assent, April 5.

April 23. There was a reconciliation in the Royal Family,* much to the satisfaction of all the true lovers of their country, and the House of Brunswick. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, attending his Majesty at St. James's, at his

* See *supra*, p. 386. A share of this "reconciliation," was claimed for l'Abbé Dubois. On the treaty between George I. and the Regent (see *supra*, p. 391.) the biographer adds—

"Après cette signature, l'Ambassadeur se disposa à retourner en France; mais il travailla, avant son départ, à réconcilier le Roi avec le Prince de Galles, son fils. L'Abbé, pendant son séjour en Angleterre, avait employé toutes les voies, et tous les moyens possibles pour procurer cette réconciliation." See "Vie du Dubois," p. 133.

Dubois was made Cardinal in 1721, and died, 1723, aged 66; when "the licence of the age" supplied this "coarse epitaph," not altogether undeserved—

"Rome rougit, d'avoir rougi
Le Maquercau qui gît ici."

See "Private Life of Lewis XV." (1781) i. 122.

George II. had a violent disagreement, growing out of a family-case, with his son Prince Frederic, whom he peremptorily commanded to "leave St. James's with all his family." The next year, May 24, O. S. 1738, the late King was born at Norfolk-house, and "privately baptized the same day," by Secker, Bishop of Oxford, then rector of the parish. He was employed, when Archbishop of Canterbury, on the marriage and coronation of the same prince. See "Proceedings of the Lords," v. 222—236; *Chron. Hist.* ii. 338.—Ed.

return to Leicester Fields, he was, by the King's command, attended with guards as formerly.

The plague raged this year most miserably in the ancient city of Marseilles, being brought from the Levant. Dismal were the accounts published among us of the fruits and effects of this contagion, which occasioned many an aching heart here, as well as there. It almost left that city without inhabitants,* and there was great danger the infection would have spread much further, and abundance of care was taken by way of prevention. We here in Britain were very apprehensive of receiving the infection, and many serious prayers was sent up to Heaven to avert that heavy judgment, which a gracious God was pleased to hear, and we were mercifully spared and preserved. It is well if we have been duly thankful for so great a mercy; and had been

* See "An Historical Account of the plague at Marseilles." (1721) pp. 34—36.

This "Account," translated from the French, thus describes the "good Marseilles," whom Pope has so justly eulogized, as not deserting the duties of his function even

"When nature sicken'd and each gale was death."

The Bishop "did not confine himself by remaining prostrate at the foot of the altar. His charity was active. He was, every day, in all quarters of the town. The most hideous, the most abandoned, and the most miserable, were those that he visited with the most ardency; and without fearing those mortal blasts, which conveyed poison into the very heart.

"Death respected this holy bishop, although he always encompassed him about, and moved almost under his feet." *Ibid.* pp. 74, 75.—Ed.

happy, if it had been improved to a general reformation of our lives and manners.

Mr. Peirce, of Exeter, at this time, wrote his "Western Inquisition." Some time after, came out an answer, filled with a variety of certificates. The running so much, on both sides, into particular passages in conversation, was disagreeable to the generality, on all hands. Now also came out Mr. Enty's "Truth and Liberty consistent, and maintained," being a farther defence of the proceedings of the Assembly at Exeter, in answer to Mr. Peirce; who answered in "The Security of Truth without the Assistance of Persecution and Scurrility." There came out also "an Essay on Fundamentals, with a particular regard to the doctrine of the ever-blessed Trinity; with an Appendix concerning the true import of the phrase, Son of God, as it is applied to Christ, &c. &c. &c. by James Foster, D.D."*

Oct. 20, "the Anniversary of King George's coronation," I preached a sermon at Rotherhithe, afterwards printed, entitled "Discontented Complaints of the present times proved unreasonable."

Before the Presbyterian synod met at Belfast,† this year,.(1720) reports were industriously spread, about those parts, that some ministers were em-

* A second edition, 1754.—Ed.

† To assert Christian liberty against Synodical assumption, there appeared at this time from the press:

"Religious Obedience founded on personal persuasion, a sermon, (on *Rom.* xiv. 5.) preached at Belfast, Dec. 9, 1719. By

bracing new schemes both of doctrine and Church government, and that they had formed a design to alter or lay aside the Westminster Confession of Faith. When the Synod met, it was found that those reports were all groundless. A former rule, obliging such as were entering into the ministry to subscribe the said confession was revived, with an allowance that if they scrupled any phrase, or phrases in it, they might use expressions of their own instead of them, which the Presbytery should accept, if they found them sound in the faith, and that their explanations were agreeable to the substance of the doctrine. This determination (called "the Pacific Act") was differently understood, and from hence arose new jealousies, and danger of a yet greater division than before.

An account of their good agreement in this Synod was ordered to be transmitted by a letter, bearing date June 29, to a number of us ministers in London, and to me among the rest; and they added

John Abernethy, M.A. minister of the gospel." See "Tracts and Sermons, occasionally published," (1751) pp. 215–253.

Ireland, amidst her ills and injuries, has still the honour to possess such learned and religious men. Justly tenacious of "the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free," they indulge the "boast," which well consists with Christian humility, that "they do not bow, in things divine, to any human authority; they have no theological dictator, to whose *ipse dixit* they can surrender a single tittle of their right of private judgment." See "Two Letters to his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. By William Hamilton Drummond, D.D." (1829) p. 10. -Ed.

some expressions that intimated their hearty concern for the deep wound that the dissensions that were among us gave to the cause of Nonconformity. In a postscript they gave us an account, that Mr. Samuel Haliday, who was well known among us, and who had been invited to be pastor of the old congregation at Belfast, in 1719, had been traduced among them as an Arian, but in a large assembly had been acquitted without one dissenting voice. We rejoiced at this, and yet had no inclination to interpose in their quarrels; and had seen such ill effects of our meddling at Exeter, that we were pretty generally afraid of being drawn into new brangles. And by what, in process of time, fell out amongst them, we had no occasion to repent it afterwards.

1721, Jan. 11. I, at the Old Jewry, gave a charge after ordination,* to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Obadiah Hughes,† Mr. Clerk Oldsworth, who died not long after, Mr. Thomas Newman,‡ and Mr. John Smith,

* Which was published.—Ed.

† "Many years minister of a congregation in Southwark, from which he removed to Westminster" (in 1743, on the death of Mr. Say, Dr. Calamy's immediate successor.) "He was an acceptable preacher, and printed some occasional sermons; but did not otherwise distinguish himself in the literary world." See Dr. Kippis's "Life of Lardner," p. vii. *note*.

To one of those "Sermons," (on the death of her niece,) Dr. Hughes prefixed an elegant and affectionate dedication to his wife, from whom Dr. Kippis says, "he became possessed of a large fortune." The preacher's "precedent," was "one of the most polite writers of the last age, Sir Richard Steele."—Ed.

‡ Preacher in Carter-lane, Blackfriars.—Ed.

who was employed in the ministry in the county of Sussex.

Feb. 5, died that brave Briton, Earl Stanhope, who behaved with so much honour to his country, both at home* and abroad. In him King George lost one of his most able ministers, and his good subjects one of their noblest patriots. His Majesty defrayed the charge of his funeral.

In February, there was such another Aurora Borealis as in 1716,† at which several were much disturbed; but with very little reason.‡

* See *supra* pp. 393, 394. During the debates, on the South-Sea defaulters, Feb. 4, "Earl Stanhope spoke with so great vehemence, that, finding himself taken suddenly with a violent headache, he went home and was cupped, but died the next day." See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 139, *note*.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 349.—Ed.

‡ See "The Works of Walter Moyle, Esq." i. 368.—C.

"The 6th Feb. last," says Mr. Moyle to a correspondent, "I had a fair view of an *Aurora Borealis*, for above an hour. It agreed very well with Mr. Whiston's description, [*Mem.* (1753) p. 240,] of the meteor which appeared, 1716. I never saw any thing so surprising.

"Nothing has been more common, at all times, in the northern parts of Europe than this phenomenon; and why, for so many ages, it should be a harmless meteor, and just at this time pass for a prognostic of the last conflagration, I am at a loss to apprehend.

"I would ask the grave Divine you mention, what warrant he has for this conceit from Scripture, where we are told more than once, that 'the day of the Lord shall come as a thief;' that is, without giving any warning at all.

"I think him guilty of great rashness and presumption, in

April 15, was born Prince William,* who is a prince very promising and hopeful.

Still more pamphlets came out upon the subjects that had been handled among us with so much warmth. As "An Answer to some Queries printed at Exeter, relating to the Arian Controversy:" and "a brief, practical, and pacific discourse of God, and of the Father, Son, and Spirit, and of our concern with them," by Dr. Joshua Oldfield. About this time also, Mr. Hare published a book, entitled "Scripture vindicated from the misrepresentations of the Lord Bishop of Bangor," &c.

Our Ministers of State found it exceeding difficult to get out of the distress occasioned by the fraudulent management of the South Sea scheme.† Our

pretending to foretell the day and hour, which is unknown to *the Son*, himself. I might tell him, that a superstitious observation of signs in the Heavens, is condemned in the Old Testament, as a rag of Heathenism, and a kind of idolatry.

"Upon the whole matter, I am apt to think that the brains of this divine are as full of vapours, as the air has been of late, and that they have produced the same effect in his head, viz. new light, and set him a prophecying. But, certainly, his time might be much better spent, in rebuking sin, and reforming his hearers, than in amusing them with his dreams and visions." *Ibid.* pp. 368–371.—Ed.

* Afterwards Duke of Cumberland.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 432; "Siècle de Louis XV." Ch. ii. *ad fin.* "In this disastrous year of national infatuation," says Johnson, "when more riches than Peru can boast were expected from the South Sea, when the contagion of avarice tainted every mind, and even poets panted after wealth, Pope was seized with the

merchants were almost ruined at home, and had little trade abroad; and it required good address to give them any relief, and especially to open the Spanish commerce, without giving up Gibraltar, which the Spaniards greatly wanted to have restored. In this perplexity, our Ministry represented, that, were our Court ever so willing to yield that point, it could not be granted but by Parliamentary authority, and time must be given our populace to cool upon it.

The Court of Madrid consented to renew trade, on condition his Britannic Majesty would give them assurance of his good disposition to comply with their demand of Gibraltar. King George, therefore, was prevailed with, in a letter to the King of Spain to express himself in these words: "I do no longer balance to assure your Majesty of my readiness to

universal passion, and ventured some of his money. The stock rose in its price, and he for a while thought himself *the Lord of thousands*. But this dream did not last." *Lives*, (1783) iv. 70.

The Nonconformist minister, Chandler, trusting to "the fatal South Sea scheme, lost the whole fortune he had received with his wife." Though continuing a minister, he now for his support became "a bookseller, and kept a shop, two or three years, in the Poultry." There he published his "Vindication of the Christian Religion," against Collins. Presenting a copy to Archbishop Wake, the Primate in a respectful letter of acknowledgment says, referring, no doubt, to the title-page, "I do think it a pity you should not rather spend your time in writing books, than in selling them. But I am glad, since your circumstances oblige you to the latter, yet you do not wholly omit the former." *Biog. Brit.* iii. 430, 431.—Ed.

satisfy you with regard to your demand, touching the restitution of Gibraltar; promising you to make use of the first favourable opportunity to regulate this article, with consent of my Parliament."* This was long kept a secret, but opened in Parliament, An. 1728-9,† and not before.‡

April 23. 1721. I entered on the new place of worship,§ erected at a considerable expense in Long Ditch,‖ Westminster. It was near two years building. Soon after, the whole was paid for, which I thought I had reason to reckon among the considerable mercies of my life. The necessity we were under of erecting a new place of worship was great,¶ and the difficulties we met with were very considerable; but we had our helps, the juncture

* See the letter, (dated "July 1, 1721,") as translated from the French, "Proceedings of the Lords," (1742) iv. 11.—Ed.

† See *Ibid*; *Chron. Hist.* ii. 209.—Ed.

‡ It had been brought before the Commons, "Feb. 6, 1826-7." *Ibid.* p. 172.

For the probable national expenditure, on

—"Calpe's jutting front, fair cause of endless hate;"

during eighty-eight years from its capture, (1704,) to 1792, and the policy of retaining it, see "The Political Progress of Britain." *Philadelphia*, (1795) pp. 19—24.—Ed.

§ I preached, both morning and afternoon, from 1 *Peter*, i. 25. —C.

‖ Afterwards called Princes-street. A new chapel erected on the same site, was pulled down, a few years since, for improvements, under the "Westminster Act," and another erected in Stamford-street. See "Monthly Repos." xviii. 607, 608.—Ed.

¶ The former meeting-house was in Tothill-street.—Ed.

was favourable, and a kind Providence carried us through all.

As we had a legacy of one hundred pounds to begin upon, so was our money chiefly raised in 1720, the South Sea year, when, as people generally expected a very considerable increase of their estates, so were they for the most part freer in distributing and parting with what they had, than at other times. Then we had upwards of one hundred pounds out of another family, and about ten fifty pounds contributors, a good number of forty pounds, and some stirred up others, and they that could not help us much themselves, yet got help from their friends. We had also a lift of near fifty pounds from Scottish members of the two houses. To God be the praise!

I, this year, published "Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, preached at the Merchants' Lecture at Salter's Hall: together with a Vindication of that celebrated text, 1 *John* v. 7,*

* Justly called a "celebrated text." Sir Isaac Newton, speaking of "that vehement, universal, and lasting controversy about the Trinity, in Jerome's time," says: "This text of the *Three in Heaven*, was never once thought of. It is now in every body's mouth, and accounted the main text for the business." See "An Historical Account of two notable corruptions of Scripture, in a letter to a friend," reprinted in "The Recorder," (1803) ii. 197.

Theologians are indebted to Bishop Horsley, for the first correct edition, (in English,) of the "Historical Account." See the Bishop's "Works of Sir Isaac Newton," (1785) v. 494.

from being spurious;* and an explanation of it upon the supposition of its being genuine: in four Sermons, † preached at the same Lecture, An. 1719, 1720." These sermons were delivered at the time when there were such debates among the Dissenters,

Lord King has investigated the date and first form of this "Letter," which was addressed to Le Clerc, and of which the original MS., in French, is understood to be preserved in the library of the Remonstrants at Amsterdam. See "Remarks," communicated to his Lordship, by the Rev. Dr. Rees, "Life of Locke," pp. 227—233.—Ed.

* In this attempt, few persons, competent to the investigation, will now consider Dr. Calamy to have succeeded, though Bishop Burgess has very lately claimed him as an able ally. See "Quarterly Review," (1826) xxxiii. 96, 97.

The critic, to whom I have referred, says: "The most learned of the orthodox Dissenters of our own times view the matter in a different light from Dr. Calamy. In a valuable work, intitled, *Scripture Testimony to the Messiah*, Dr. Pye Smith has made many sensible remarks, on the insufficiency of the evidence produced in behalf of the verse, and the injurious consequences of calling in allies of a doubtful character." *Ibid.* p. 97.—Ed.

† A passage, (pp. 431–434) in the first of these sermons, preached January 13, 1719, is noticed by Emlyn, in the "preface" to his "Answer to Martin," annexed to his "Full Inquiry." He complains "that Dr. Calamy thought it the best method, to begin with men's characters, rather than with their arguments, and, in effect, to tell his people, that very good men had been for the text, and some very bad, or indifferent ones against it." See *Ibid;* "Works of Emlyn," ii. 171.

"Of all the productions, on the subject which we have perused," says the *Quarterly*, "Newton's Letter, and Emlyn's Inquiry, (an unpretending work, written with great temper,) present to our apprehension, the strongest marks of the single intention to find out truth."—Ed.

about the doctrine of the Trinity; which I was unwilling to engage in, either on one side or the other, thinking I should, in the course of this public lecture, have a fair occasion to lay open my sentiments, as far as was either necessary, or likely to answer any valuable purpose.*

On this occasion I thought, that if King George might be induced to allow of a dedication to him, it might bring more persons to read the Discourses. Therefore, I applied to Lord Townshend, Secretary of State, requesting his lordship would be so good as to mention it to the King,. and let me know his Majesty's answer. His lordship undertook it with great readiness, signifying his well-pleasedness with my publishing Discourses, at that juncture, upon that subject; and saying, I need not doubt but his Majesty would be very free to allow my prefixing his name; but that when he saw me next he would let me know more.

When I went again to his lordship, he told me he had made my request known to the King, who freely gave leave for what I desired. He was pleased to add, that if I would let him see my Dedication when it was finished, he would give me his free thoughts upon it. When I carried it to him, he read it three times over. I offered to alter any thing his lordship might judge not so proper; but he told me, he would not have me alter a word, and he was satisfied it would be acceptable. I then asked his

* See *supra*, pp. 411, 416.—Ed.

lordship if he would be pleased to do me the farther honour of presenting a copy of my book to his Majesty, when it was finished, and bound. He told me, he would readily do it, if I desired it, but he would rather advise me to wait on the King, and present it myself, and he would be my introducer. I humbly thanked him, and having got some well-bound, waited on his lordship, who brought me to the King in his closet, between ten and eleven in the morning.

I humbly presented my book to his Majesty,* who

* This presentation, to a prince, of a work so profoundly theological, accompanied with a Nonconformist minister's dedication to the supreme head of the Established Church, may be justly regarded as a curiosity.

Having recollected that "Our countryman Alcuin, writing upon the doctrine of the Trinity, in defence of the common Christian faith, inscribed his work to Charles the Great, and was well accepted," Dr. Calamy says: "Standing up for the same faith, of which your Majesty is the great defender, I am very thankful for the honour done me, in having leave to prefix your *august* name, to my well-meant endeavours."

King George had very lately followed, too much, as it will now be generally considered, the example of Charlemagne. That emperor, not satisfied with having invited Alcuin "into France, to assist him in opposing the heresy of Felix, Bishop of Urgel," employed "his authority" the *ratio ultima regum*, "to oblige some Spanish bishops," who adhered to that heresy, "to renounce their opinions." *Biog. Brit.* i. 121, 122.

Thus our "Defender of the Faith," in "Directions" to his "Archbishops and Bishops" dated "May 7, 1721," copying, almost *verbatim*, those of 1696, (See vol i. p. 381, *note.**) authoritatively determines that "no preacher whatsoever, do presume

received me very graciously, took it into his hands, and looked on it; and then was pleased to tell me,

to deliver any other doctrine concerning the blessed Trinity, than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and agreeable to the Three Creeds, and the Thirty-nine Articles."

To enforce obedience, clerical defaulters, in the Established Church, are threatened with deprivation, under an Act of Elizabeth, while to "the tender mercies" of the 9th William III. are consigned those, of every description, who, "by writing, printing, teaching, or advised speaking, deny the Trinity." These are condemned to the utmost distress and ruin, comprehended in the forfeiture of every legal capacity, or civil right, besides "three years imprisonment, without bail or mainprize." See "Constitutions, &c. printed by John Basket, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty," (1739) pp. 165–167.

It is to be regretted that after having read, for he had scarcely overlooked such "Directions," Dr. Calamy could immediately request the honour of presenting such a dedication, as if, while placing his own arguments under royal protection, his theological opponents might plead *in vinculis*. His language (*supra*, p. 39) *non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis*, would have, now, better become such a conscientious disputant.

There are, I am persuaded, modern Trinitarians, justly named among the ablest advocates of their cause, who would readily acknowledge that this transaction, which Dr. Calamy appears to have contemplated with pride and pleasure, is not a little disparaging to his memory. The dedication, however, thus proceeds:

"To you, great Sir, all among us that have any value for religion, look with a dutiful reverence, as our common parent, gratefully owning that our liberty to speak, write, or act, either as Christians, or Protestants, under God, is owing to your Majesty's happy accession; and to you we reckon ourselves accountable for our conduct."

To discharge this accountableness, Dr. Calamy assures the King that those "excluded the national establishment, do very

he took us Dissenters for his hearty friends, and desired me to let my brethren in the city know, that in the approaching election of members of Parliament,* he depended on them, to use their utmost influence, wherever they had any interest, in favour of such as were hearty for him and his family.† I

generally agree with those that are under it, as to the great doctrine of the Trinity," of which he had acknowledged his Majesty to be "the great defender."

After a good wish, worthy of the dedicator, that Conformists and Nonconformists "were both so happy as to adorn the faith they profess, with a suitable benignity of temper, and holiness of life," and that the King "might be the happy instrument of promoting it;" the usual loyal aspirations follow, for a "prosperous reign," a "future reward, answerable to present fatigues for the common good; and ages to come, happy under a glorious race" from the same "illustrious house," qualified by the favourite limitation, "in the Protestant line." These, as "the common prayers of Protestant Dissenting subjects," agreeably conclude this extraordinary dedication.—Ed.

* "March 10, 1721-2. A proclamation for dissolving the Parliament" (see *supra*, p. 351, *note*) "13, for calling a new Parliament, the writs to be returned, May 10." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 121.

"A pamphlet appeared, styled, 'The last will and testament of an old deceased Parliament,' being a recapitulation of their votes and resolves the last session." *Ibid.* p. 122.—Ed.

† While diverting to state purposes a theological audience, with which he had indulged a grateful Nonconformist divine, and thus sending him forth a parliamentary canvasser, George I. discovers the enlightened civil governor. Not so, when the King "turns a school-divine," promulgating "Directions to Archbishops and Bishops" (such as, thanks to "the Schoolmaster" of a more enlightened age, no British Executive will

freely told his Majesty, that he might upon good grounds be assured, that they were very much disposed that way: but that I would not fail of letting my brethren know the honour his Majesty did them, to declare with so much frankness his dependance upon them, in this case. Observing there were many waiting without, I took my leave, and went down the back stairs.

Lord Townshend soon followed me, and asked me how I liked my reception? I told his Lordship he was so very good, and his Majesty so exceeding gracious, that I must be utterly stupid, if I was not very thankful. I added, that I had ordered my servant to leave one of my books at his Lordship's, which he would find there at his return; and that, as to his Majesty's message by me to my brethren, his Lordship should hear from me about it in two or three days without fail. His Lordship told me, his Majesty designed me a present, and I should hear from his brother Walpole about it, whom he was ordered by his Majesty to speak to.

Going the very next day into the city, I got some few of each of the three denominations together, and delivered the message from his Majesty. They, with unanimity, desired me to signify to Lord Townshend, that they were very thankful to his Majesty for the honour he did them, and should not

ever wish or venture to repeat,) and accepting the humbly proffered patronage of "Sermons concerning the doctrine of the Trinity." Ed.

disappoint his expectations, complying with which they took to be their interest and duty both. And I did it accordingly.

I afterwards waited on the Prince and Princess of Wales, and presented each of them with one of my books, and was graciously received. Waiting afterwards on the three young Princesses, and delivering one of my books to Princess Anne,* one of which I intimated to her I had before presented to his Majesty, and another to the Prince and Princess: she told me she had heard of it, but was afraid the book would be above her capacity. I told her Highness that, as she was provided with abundant helps, in order to her improvement in knowledge, so she might hope that in a careful use of them, she would find her capacity grow and increase. She told me, she would certainly read it, and make trial.

As the three young Princesses stood in a row before me, which I must own I thought a most entertaining sight, I took the freedom to tell them that being so descended, and so carefully educated as they were, the world had great expectations from them, and all the Protestant Churches had their eyes upon them, having raised hopes as to what they in time, and as they came to settle and be transplanted into other great families, would do in their favour; and that I could assure them, they had many prayers continually sent up to the great God for them, that

* Afterwards Princess Royal, married 1733, to the Prince of Orange. *Chron. Hist.* ii. 284, 285.—Ed.

he would make them great blessings, wherever their lot might be cast. Upon which Princess Anne, of her own accord, very readily said, "Sir, we hope those good prayers will be continued, for which we shall be very thankful."

A few days after this, I had a messenger from the Treasury sent by Mr. Walpole, with a bill of fifty pounds out of his Majesty's royal bounty, for which he brought a receipt in form, which I signed with humble thanks.*

For this book of mine I had thanks afterwards sent me by several Dignitaries of the Church of England, some of whom were Bishops and Deans.†

* Walpole, proverbially corrupt and intriguing, and who had seldom retained ministerial influence at so easy a rate, would, probably, amuse himself, and his brethren of the cabinet, with the Christian simplicity of the divine. Dr. Calamy no doubt thus humbly acknowledged, as a boon, piously bestowed for "Sermons concerning the Trinity," what the *Gallios* of the Court, who "cared for none of these things," really intended as an excitement to services, (rendered, however, *con amore*,) concerning the pending election.—Ed.

† "All which must, no doubt, have very much astonished the worthy Nonconformist," says the "Quarterly Review," xxxiii. 96, 97.

Among these "Deans" was, probably, one who, about this time, endeavoured, happily without success, to sustain the Trinitarian cause, (which Dr. Calamy advocated, on what he regarded as scriptural authority,) by unanswerable arguments of legal compulsion; still more forcible than those already adduced.

"1721, April 29. Lord Willoughby De Broke, Dean of Windsor, brought in a Bill for the more effectual suppressing

This year there came out "a Vindication of the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland, Subscribers and Nonsubscribers;" published and recommended by Victor Ferguson, M.D.

But in the north of that island, the pacific conclusion of last year's Synod was so far from quieting the minds of the people, that they took rather greater

of blasphemy and profaneness," comprehending under that description, "a denial of the Trinity, as set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles."

This Priest and Peer, proposed to aggravate the severe penalties of the 9th William III. by exacting from every one convicted under that Act, as the only escape from *perpetual* imprisonment, "a profession of his faith," in which he was compelled to declare "that in the Unity of the Godhead, there be three persons, of one substance, power and eternity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

The atrocious project, which, but for an authentic record now before me, could be scarcely credited, appears to have been countenanced by Archbishop Wake, the Bishops of London, Winchester and Coventry, and the Lords Nottingham, Bathurst and Trevor. Distinguished among the *non-contents* were Argyle, Sunderland, Ilay, Townsend and Cowper.

Lord Onslow said, "he could not be for any law, that was for persecution, which he took this to be." The Earl of Peterborough declared that "though he was for a parliamentary King, yet he did not desire a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion." The Bishop of Peterborough (Kennet,) said, that "neither himself, nor, he hoped, any of that bench would be executors of such a law, which seemed to tend to the setting up an inquisition." The Bill, to the honour of the House, was rejected "by sixty against thirty-one." See "Proceedings of the Lords," (1742) pp. 144–146.—Ed.

liberty than ever in reproaching ministers, and raising jealousies and censures against them. Some, to secure their interest with their people, subscribed the Westminster Confession, privately; and the people came, generally, to the Synod of Belfast, with loud demands that it might be subscribed universally, which was said to be the only effectual way to vindicate the ministry from aspersions.

The Synod, this year, concluded upon a declaration concerning the eternal and independent Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ; a point in which it was owned, none among them were erroneous. Notwithstanding which, all refused to concur in this vote or determination, who were in their judgments against any authoritative human decisions, as tests of orthodoxy. The Synod also gave leave that such as thought it expedient to subscribe the Westminster Confession, might take that opportunity of doing it; and the major part did accordingly then subscribe it. The debate about these measures, had (as Mr. Abernethy observes,*) "a great affinity with that the London ministers had split upon at Salter's Hall, concerning human forms as authoritative tests of orthodoxy, and the expediency of professing articles of faith in those forms, in order to remove jealousies." Mr. Weld, Mr. Boyse and Mr. Choppin appeared in this Synod, as deputies from Dublin, in order to the

* See his "Defence of the seasonable Advice, in Answer to Mr. Mastertown," p. 37.—C.

promoting peace; and they proposed an expedient, but without any effect.

The plague still continued in France, though it was considerably abated. We still continued very apprehensive of a pestilential infection, and great care was taken that all ships from other parts, should duly perform their quarantine. There were also great debates in Parliament about building barracks for pest houses, upon supposition the infection should reach us; and the surrounding such towns as might be infected, with lines, &c. which method was likely to be attended with such consequences, that many were not, upon any considerations that could be offered, to be reconciled to it.*

But an infection of another sort, a furious enmity to the happy Government we were under, now raged among us with great violence, and was very threatening. About this time a new Parliament was chosen. In the course of the election, there were, even at Westminster, and under the immediate eye of the Court, such riotous and tumultuous doings;† and when they came to polling, there was such hollowing, huffing and huzzaing, and such seditious outcries on one side, as they went along by troops, with drums beating, and colours displayed before them, while many on the other side could not any way get access without being rudely insulted, and

* See "Proceedings of the Lords," iii. 195–202.—Ed.

† The election was declared void. *Chron. Hist.* ii.—Ed.

running a manifest hazard of their lives, that the rebellion that was intended seemed to be already actually begun; or, if not, any one that saw and observed, (as I did) the mutinous disposition of the mobbish crew that carried all before them, would naturally be led to conclude that it was near at hand, and we were just upon the borders of it. This was the real state of the case.

Though the Ministry kept silent, yet did they receive and improve the discoveries that were made them, which were considerable, and several were taken up, examined, and confined.* At length, when they had got to the bottom of the conspiracy that was formed, August 24, Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester was seized, with a design of making him an example of the utmost severity the law would justify, in order to striking the greater terror into others. The under secretary, accompanied with a messenger, was sent to the Bishop's house at the Abbey of Westminster, with orders to bring him, and all such papers as they could find along with him, before the Council.

* "May 9. A Proclamation, commanding all Papists and reputed Papists to depart from the cities of London and Westminster, and from within ten miles of the same, and for confining Papists and reputed Papists to their habitations." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 123.

"Nov. 23. A Bill for raising 100,000*l.* on Papists, and Popish recusants, opposed, as looking a little too like persecution, but carried by a great majority." *Chron. Hist.* p. 130. —Ed.

His Lordship was in his night-gown, and surprized, and being acquainted with their business, he desired time to dress himself, which was yielded to. The officers, in the mean time, searched for his papers.

When my Lord was dressed, he went with them to the Cockpit, and had free liberty to say whatever he pleased. After being withdrawn, he was allowed the liberty of coming back again into the Council-chamber twice, to make for himself such representations and requests as he thought proper. After three quarters of an hour's stay, he was sent to the Tower, with great privacy, in his own coach, without any noise, or any thing like insult. There happened a misunderstanding between him and Colonel Williamson, the Deputy Governor of the Tower, from the time of his commitment, which became the common talk of the town. But that was a thing in which the Government had no concern. The commitment of a Bishop to the Tower for High Treason, occasioned a great many speculations. No other could be expected. Some took occasion, with great freedom, to reflect on the Ministry; while others as freely inveighed against the Bishop; but the report of the Committee of the House of Commons about the whole matter, helped to set things in a right light. His Lordship is therein charged with a traitorous correspondence abroad, in order to raise an insurrection in this kingdom, and to procure foreign forces to invade it.

It was determined to proceed against him by Bill

for inflicting pains and penalties; which occasioned many and warm debates in the House of Commons.

When the Bill was drawn up, which was full of heavy charges, it was sent to him in his confinement, by a Serjeant-at-arms, together with notice, that he had the liberty of counsel and solicitors granted him, and all others things necessary for his defence. He petitioned the Lords for direction and advice, and that particularly as to a standing order, prohibiting, on a penalty, any Lord to appear either in person, or by his counsel, before the House of Commons, to answer any accusation there.

The Lords, after debates, by a majority of seventy-eight to thirty-two, carried it, that the Bishop, being only a Lord in Parliament, and no Peer, might, without any diminution to the honour of that House appear in the House of Commons, if he thought fit, and, in what manner he thought fit, defend and vindicate himself.

The Bishop was not extremely pleased with the concession, and yet acquainted the Speaker of the House of Commons, by a letter,* with the reasons that determined him, not to give that House any trouble concerning a bill therein depending against him; but should make his defence in the other House, of which he had the honour to be a member.

It so happened, that a letter which fell into the

* April 3, 1723.—Ed.

hands of the Ministry, was sealed with the seal of an impression, very much like, if not the very same with that which had been observed on a certain criminal letter, for which he was accused. Orders were immediately sent to the Tower, to seize all the seals that were found about him, or his servants, and bring them away, to have their impressions compared. Colonel Williamson hereupon closely searched him, took away two seals and a paper in his pocket, which was a letter to his solicitor; and searched also his two servants, taking away a seal from one of them, of which, (though the Colonel did but herein follow the orders that were given him,) the Bishop made most tragical complaints, in a petition to the Lords.

At length the Bill passed, and was sent to the Lords. There, a process continued above a week. The first time of the Bishop's being carried from the Tower, some disturbance was given by the mob, but care being taken to prevent any thing of that nature, he afterwards passed along the streets, all the week, very quietly and without molestation.

After the evidence had been produced and canvassed, he was allowed to speak for himself. He bitterly complained of his long confinement, and the severities and hardships he had laboured under in the Tower, and dilated on the defectiveness of the evidence, and the improbability of its being true; and then closed the whole, with a solemn decla-

ration of his innocence.* A replication was made by the King's counsel, Mr. Reeve and Mr. Wearg. At length, after many and earnest debates,† the Bill passed the Lords, by a majority of 83 to 43.‡

That I may finish my account of this doctor, dean, and bishop, all at once, I shall add, that though he was, after this, detained in custody, during the time of his stay in his own country, yet, from the time that his hearing before the Lords was over, his friends were allowed free access to him, and it was very generally said, that their liberality to him, upon this occasion, was so profusely great, as amply to supply the defects of his fortune, and enable him to live in a foreign country, without any danger of distressing want.

He took leave of his friends, who, in great numbers, came to bid him their last adieu,§ and on June 18, between twelve and one at noon, was car-

* *Biog. Brit.* i. 342. Johnson says that Pope "was called, at the trial, to give an account of Atterbury's domestic life and private employment, that it might appear how little time he had left for plots. Pope had but few words to utter, and in those few, he made several blunders." *Lives*, iv. 74.—Ed.

† "Earl Cowper urged a variety of arguments, to show that the evidence against the Bishop was extremely insufficient. He pointed out the danger of such a precedent, of inflicting pains and penalties, without law, and without proper evidence, such real and certain proof, as ought in natural justice and equity to be received." *Biog. Brit.* iv. 394.—Ed.

‡ The royal assent was given, May 27. *Ibid.* i. 343.—Ed.

§ When he is said to have presented Pope with a Bible, as "a legacy, to remember him." *Ibid.* p. 347.—Ed.

ried in a chair from his apartment in the Tower, to the water-side, and thence in a barge, appointed to wait on him, (wherein were his daughter, and son-in-law, Colonel Williamson, and Captain Lawrence, commander of the man-of-war that was to carry him over) fell down with the tide, and so went off.* Dr. Bradford, Bishop of Carlisle, was appointed Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester in his room.

In June, this year, (1722) there was a Presbyterian Synod in Derry, in the North of Ireland. The non-subscribers had a consultation among themselves, and resolved, as they had done before, to press the dropping of all debates. But the Assembly proceeded to new decisions.

About this time, also, Mr. Simon Browne published "A letter to the Rev. Thomas Reynolds,"† on occasion of a passage in his funeral sermon for

* "June 21. The deprived bishop arrived at Calais, where he met Lord Bolingbroke" (lately pardoned) "returning to England. Whereupon he observed, they were exchanged." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 140.

"From Calais he went to Brussels, and afterwards to Paris, where he resided, till his death, (1731) softening the rigors of his exile by study, and conversation with learned men, and by a constant epistolary correspondence with the most eminent scholars." *Biog. Brit.* p. 343.—Ed.

† Ed. 2, 1723; on which the writer's biographer, Dr. Towers, says: "Mr. Browne was a zealous opposer of all invasions of the rights of conscience, whether attempts of that kind proceeded from Churchmen, or Dissenters; and utterly disapproved of the narrow views of those, who were for confining the hopes of salvation within the limits of their own party." *Biog. Brit.* ii. 643.—Ed.

the late pious Mr. Pomfret,* and his preface to it, which again goes over several things, debated between the subscribers and non-subscribers.

Oct. 11. His Majesty, in a speech to his two Houses, told them of a conspiracy, some time formed, and still carrying on, in favour of a Popish Pretender, and intimated that they had provided considerable sums of money, engaged great numbers of officers from abroad, secured large quantities of arms and ammunition, and had not the conspiracy been timely discovered, the whole nation, and particularly the city of London would, before that time, have been involved in blood and confusion.

Nov. 21. Christopher Layer, Esq. was tried for high treason, and brought in guilty. Nov. 27, he received sentence, and was executed May 17, following.†

Nov. 23. An humble Address was presented to his Majesty,‡ by the Dissenting ministers of the three denominations, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, with Mr. Mathew Clarke at their head, introduced by the Lord Viscount Townsend, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State:

* See Vol. i. 492.—Ed.

† "The execution" had been "respited, from time to time, to see if they could sift anything out of him against the other state-prisoners." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 128-130. 132, 135.—Ed.

‡ In the words following:

"May it please your Majesty,

"We have, so often, returned thanks to Almighty God, for

and they had, all, the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.

March 11, this year (1722) died, aged 51, the famous Mr. John Toland, who had a strange incli-

your Majesty's peaceable settlement upon the British throne, and so heartily prayed for the continuance of your happy government, that we must, of all people, be the most inconsistent with ourselves, if we should not be very sensibly affected with the kindness of divine Providence, in discovering the vile designs of those, who, in defiance of all, even the most sacred engagements, have been, and are still, fighting against their own happiness, and striving to make themselves, and the whole nation miserable.

"It grieves us, that our native country should produce such monsters of ingratitude and perfidiousness. We are at a loss to express how much we abhor their practices; and, as for the principles that lead into them, we cannot but account them as foolish as they are impious.

"To imagine that a Protestant kingdom should flourish under Popish counsels, or our religious and civil liberties be best secured by sacrificing them to the avowed enemies of both, are absurdities too gross to be digested by any that know the value of either.

"We assure your Majesty, that we, as ministers of the gospel of peace, are fully determined always to recommend loyalty and fidelity to your Majesty and your government. And it is no small satisfaction to us, that we are engaged with a people so well disposed in this respect, as the body of the Protestant Dissenters: of whom we can, with safety, declare that, in all parts of the kingdom, they adhere most inviolably to your Majesty, as their only rightful and lawful sovereign; and are very sensible of the many blessings of your auspicious reign, which is not only just and equal at home, but glorious abroad, through the tender concern which your Majesty, upon all occasions, is

nation to unbeaten and untrodden paths, and always affected somewhat that was singular, that he might be the more talked of.* He could never either forget or forgive the learned Huetius's reflecting on him as illegitimate.†

April 7. Died Mr. Samuel Rosewell, son of that Mr. Rosewell, of Rotherhithe, who met with such hard treatment in the reign of King James II.‡

pleased to discover for the liberties of Europe, and for our Protestant brethren in foreign parts.

"And we please ourselves with the hopes, that the restless attempts of a disappointed party, to make their country a scene of blood, by bringing in upon us a Popish Pretender, will contribute to the fixing your Majesty the firmer, if possible, upon the throne, and will endear you the more to all your people, and the better secure to them and their posterity the happy establishment of the Protestant succession.

"Inclination, great Sir, as well as duty, will lead us to continue our ardent prayers, that your Majesty's invaluable life may be long preserved; that your counsels may be prospered, to the full detection of the traitorous designs of your enemies, and the strengthening of our common security; and that the crown may flourish in your Majesty's royal house, in all succeeding ages."

His Majesty made them a gracious answer in these words:—

"I thank you for this loyal and dutiful address. Your steady and constant adherence and affection to my person and government, give you a most just title to my protection, on which you may always depend."—C.

* See Vol. i. p. 429, *ad fin.*—Ed.

† "Comment. de rebus ad eum pertinentibus," p. 412.

An Account of his Life and Writings is prefixed to a Collection of several pieces of his, printed in 2 vols. 8vo. 1726.—C.

‡ See *Burnet*, i. 597–599; *Neal*, iv. 494–496.—Ed.

His funeral sermon was preached and published by his colleague, Mr. Jeremy Smith.

June 16. Died John, Duke of Marlborough, our victorious general. He was buried, with great state and magnificence, at the charge of his Majesty, at the Abbey-church at Westminster. A pompous train of artillery attended at his funeral.*

It is wondered, by many, that we have not this great man's life and history. It is said that Sir Richard Steele once had a design of this nature in view, and that he had proper materials for that purpose in his custody. Proposals for it were published, and the relation was to have commenced from the date of his Grace's commissions, as Captain-General and Plenipotentiary, and to have concluded with the expiration of those commissions. It would have been a most noble and entertaining history. The dropping of this design is what the Marlborough family can best account for. Whether any one may, hereafter, be able to re-assume and pursue it with advantage, is now dubious and uncertain.†

Oct. 15. Died my good friend, the Lady Levet,‡ at Bath.

* An account of the whole procession was given in the *London Gazette*, Aug. 11.—C.

† "The Duchess of Marlborough bequeathed 500*l.* a piece, to Mr. Mallett and Mr. Glover, as a premium to be bestowed upon them when they should write a History of the Duke of Marlborough." *Biog. Brit.* iii. 565.—Ed.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 309, 310.—Ed.

Oct. 27. Died Mr. William Lorimer, M.A., an ancient minister in this city,* of eminent learning and piety.

1723. The case of the company for trade, at Harburgh, by which so many had been so great sufferers, and I among the rest, was at this time under consideration. Many were threatened, several examined with great strictness, and many fearful of the issue. But one great aim of those that were the most eager in pursuing the scent, was to find out the gains of the Hanoverians, in order to the recovering them. The lottery, designed among them, in which I had no concern, was the thing most fastened on,† and that would have been most gainful to the projectors and managers. But this was against the King's proclamation, and could not be justified.

When this had been long searched into, and strictly canvassed, Lord Barrington was, upon the account of his concern in it, on Feb. 15, expelled the House of Commons.‡

* See Vol. i. p. 325; "Monthly Repos." xvi. 195.—Ed.

† "Feb. 1. The Commons resolved that the Harburgh Lottery was an infamous and fraudulent undertaking." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 131.—Ed.

‡ "A paper on this subject, written by Sir Michael Foster," was communicated to Dr. Towers, by Mr. Dodson, nephew of the learned judge. This paper, as "never before published," is annexed to the Life of Lord Barrington, (1778) as what "will greatly contribute to extenuate, if not justify, the conduct of his Lordship in this transaction." *Biog. Brit.* i. 625.—Ed.

About this time, his Majesty was pleased, in a private way, to give the Dissenters a considerable taste of his royal bounty and kind regard to them, by an annual allowance. The first motion for it was made by Mr. Daniel Burgess,* who had, for some time, been Secretary to the Princess of Wales. He, of his own head, out of good-will to those among whom he had had his education, moved for something of that kind to the Lord Viscount Townsend, who readily fell in with it, and afterwards discoursed his brother Walpole about it, who also concurred.

Upon its being mentioned to the King he was very free to it, and soon ordered 500*l.*, to be paid out of the Treasury, for the use and behoof of the poor widows of Dissenting ministers. Some time after, 500*l.* was, upon application made on that behalf, ordered to be paid, each half year, for the assisting either ministers, or their widows, that wanted help, or to be applied to any such uses, as the distributors thought to be most for their interest.

An order was, each half year, obtained by Mr. Burgess, payable to Mr. Ellis, the surgeon. When Mr. Burgess received it, he paid it to the following persons, viz., Mr. William Tong, Mr. Jeremy Smith, Mr. Merril, of Hampstead, Mr. Thomas Reynolds, Mr. Matthew Clarke, Dr. Joshua Oldfield, Mr. John

* Son, probably, of the preacher mentioned *supra*, p. 228. See Dr. Calamy's *Continuation*, p. 875.—Ed.

Evans, Mr. William Harris, and myself.* As any of those persons died, the survivors chose another

* A writer in the London Magazine (1774) said to have been Dr. Mayo, a minister and tutor among the Independents, gives the following account:—

"The origin of the *Regium Donum* was in April, 1723. At that time, the Dissenters expected, what, for years before, they had justly merited of the Brunswick line, a complete restoration of all their natural rights and religious privileges.

"Sir Robert Walpole was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, a statesman who knew too well for the real interests of his country, the passions which are most apt to be predominant in the heart, and whom no man ever equalled in the application of gold. By this he daily converted his enemies into friends, and so charmed even the flaming votaries of liberty, Dissenting ministers not excepted, as to reconcile them to corruption, and even to court fetters and rejoice in them.

"He closeted a few of their ministers, whom he thought to have the most influence among their brethren. He then declared his readiness to serve them any way, even in Parliament for the repeal of the cruel statutes against them; but the present year (1723) was a very improper time. He, the greatest friend they had, would not advise them to apply, that session. A respectful postponement was very likely to obtain success.

"To enforce this reasoning, he drew 500*l.* out of the Treasury, by a warrant payable to a surgeon, which was paid, by another agent, into the hands of nine ministers. The bait was, 'Pray receive this for the use and comfort of the widows of Dissenting ministers, till administration can more effectually serve your cause.' But a strict charge was given with the money, that the matter should be kept very secret.

"This considerable taste of royal bounty was promised to be annual. Some few years after, the sum was advanced to 850*l.*,

in his room. It was paid pretty generally; though, sometimes, I observed, without being able to discover

half-yearly. This is the present value of the Treasury warrant, but there are large fees and deductions." See Dyer's "Memoirs of Robert Robinson," (1796) pp. 237–240.

Mr. Morgan, in his "Memoirs of Dr. Price," (1815) thus records (pp. 36, 37) his uncle's opinion of this royal bounty, on the character and influence of which, one so connected as Dr. Price, must have had frequent opportunities for accurate observation. Nor would a man so just and candid have allowed himself to censure, without an adequate cause:

"Being once applied to for his vote, by the late Sir Edmund Thomas, when canvassing for the county of Glamorgan, and being offered that worthy baronet's interest, to procure him the disposal of the *Regium Donum* among his brethren, Mr. Price immediately replied, that the best service Sir Edmund could render to him, or his brethren, would be to advise the King's ministers to discontinue a donation which could only be regarded by every independent Dissenter, as the price of his liberty." See "Monthly Repos." (1815) x. 581. See also *Ibid.* i. 554; vi. 224. 271–273; xii. 164. 387; xvii. 29. 159. 215. 338. 400.

The *Regium Donum*, for several years removed farther from Court than when Dr. Mayo and Dr. Price described it, can no longer be considered as a compromise for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; which have been commuted (1828) for a declaration of Christian faith. Thus, the legislature retains the "cure of souls," and a profession of Christianity is, now, indiscriminately exacted, as an indispensable qualification for a civil office, while "the Church of England," (the principal gainer by the repeal,) is relieved from the too frequent desecration of her most solemn rite.

This bounty, no longer, indeed, *Regium Donum*, is still

what it was to be ascribed to, we were passed by and forgotten.

An equal dividend was made of the sum, and each person disposed of what he received as he thought best; generally showing an account to the rest how it was disposed of, that so several might not give to the same persons. A charge was given that this matter should be kept secret; nor was there any occasion to make a common talk of it. And I believe it was kept as much a secret as a thing of that nature, with which so many were acquainted, could be well expected to be: though, by degrees, it became, first suspected, and afterwards more known than was to have been desired.

Nor was this the first instance of kindness of this sort, that the Dissenting ministers had received from the Court. Bishop Burnet takes notice, in the reign of King Charles II. that "the Presbyterian ministers" waiting on that prince "in a body,* there was an order to pay a yearly pension of fifty pounds to most of them, and of an hundred pounds a year

annually granted, by Parliament, among the supplies, though the exact amount does not appear. Thus: "Resolved,

"2d April, 1829. That a sum not exceeding 5,812*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.* be granted to his Majesty to pay the usual allowance to Protestant Dissenting ministers in England, poor French Protestant refugee clergy, poor French Protestant laity, and sundry small charitable and other allowances to the poor of St. Martin's in the Fields, and others, for the Year 1829." *Votes*, p. 264.—Ed.

* In 1672, to thank him for the Indulgence. See Vol. i. pp. 71. 105, *note*; *Reliq. Baxt.* Pt. iii. 99.—Ed.

to the chief of the party."* He says, that "Baxter sent back his pension, and would not touch it. But, most of them took it." And I cannot see why they should not. "All this," says he, "I say upon Dr. Stillingfleet's word, who assured me, he knew the truth of it. And in particular, he told me, that Pool, who wrote the Synopsis of the Critics, confessed to him that he had had fifty pounds for two years." However, in the tail there comes a sting. "Thus," says he, "the Court hired them to be silent: and the greatest part of them were so; and very compliant."

This unkind reflection, I should have thought might very well have been spared, unless it could have been shown that they were "silent" in any matter in which (as circumstances stood) it was their duty to have spoken with freedom; or "compliant" in any thing that was really blameable, or that had an ill tendency. If silence with regard to the Papists, and their principles and practices, be the thing here referred to, it deserves to be considered, that none at that time wrote better against Popery, than Mr. Pool, in his "Dialogues," and his "Nullity of the Romish Faith;" and Mr. David Clarkson, in his tract intituled, "The practical Divinity of the Papists proved destructive to Christianity, and the Souls of Men." And the body of the Popish controversy was gone over, by a good number of the very ministers that received this bounty from the Court,

* See "Own Time," i. 308.—C.

in "the Morning Exercise against Popery," printed in 1675, within three years of the time in which this reflection was made on their conduct. For that reason, it was not just to charge them either with a silence or compliance of which they were not truly guilty.

As for those who received the bounty of King George I., whose interest was so visibly interwoven with that of his good subjects, and who, through the whole of his reign so constantly acted as one sensible that it was so, there was in his reign nothing to be silent about, unless it was the continuance upon the Dissenters of the hardships they were under, of which they often complained; or to comply in, but their continuance, to which they never could be prevailed with to consent or agree. Yet the Dissenters, having such fair warning given them beforehand, of what had been done of the same nature formerly, might very well be allowed to be the more cautious of publishing the matter now; and yet thought it became them to receive what was so freely offered them, with great thankfulness to God and his Majesty.

Nor could we be forgetful of Dr. Owen's having also received a thousand guineas from King Charles II. to distribute among those Dissenters, who had suffered most of the severities of his reign,* for receiving which he also was reflected on afterwards,

* See "Memoirs of the Life of Dr. Owen," prefixed to his Volume of Sermons, (1721) pp. 29, 30.—C.

though we thought very undeservedly. We could not at the same time but very well remember, that when Doctor Daniel Williams, in the reign of Queen Anne, and while the Lord Oxford had the ascendant, refused to receive a thousand pounds that was offered him as from her Majesty, to distribute among the Dissenters, which gift was not clogged with any condition, he (though he acted in the integrity of his heart) was censured by many, as depriving a number that needed help, of the benefit they might have this way had. Not knowing how things might in time run round, we were not willing, if this offer made us should come to be known, to expose ourselves to a like censure.

Nor could we indeed see, why we might not thankfully accept of such a help as this, here in England, as well as our brethren in the North of Ireland, who in the year 1690 had a grant from King William of twelve hundred pounds per annum, to be paid by quarterly payments,* which notwithstanding all the complaints that have been made of it by their back friends, (and particularly of the Irish Parliament, who in 1703, voted this an unnecessary branch of the establishment,) has been continued ever since; with an addition in the reign of Queen Anne of eight hundred pounds per annum, for the South of Ireland, in which there are fewer

* See Mr. Kilpatrick's "Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians," p. 397.—C. See Mr. Boyse, *infra*.—Ed.

meetings and fewer ministers than in the North.* In soliciting for which, I must own, that I myself very freely joined with worthy Mr. Joseph Boyse, (who was then in London,) in an earnest application to my old acquaintance, the Earl of Sunderland for his interest.

Nor would it be an easy thing to give a good and substantial reason, why we that are Dissenters in England, and excluded from the emoluments of the National Church, may not as warrantably receive a thousand pounds a year from the Government, as our Presbyterian brethren in Scotland do, (according to the current and uncontradicted report of our public newspapers,) in order to the promoting Christian knowledge in their Highlands. I, therefore, here give hints of these things, that they may be considered, if this bounty of King George I. to us and our brethren should come to be universally known hereafter.

March 16. Died Sir Robert Breedon.†

April 4. Died Dr. William Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. It was a

* The following passage will describe the present amount and description of the Parliamentary grant.

"April 6, 1829. A sum not exceeding 14,360*l.* 6*s.* granted to his Majesty, to defray the expense of Nonconforming, Seceding, and Protestant Dissenting ministers in Ireland, for the year 1829; and that the said sum be issued and paid without any fee or other deduction whatsoever." *Votes*, p. 279.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 272.—Ed.

very noble account this Bishop gave of himself in few words, when in that Preface to four of his own Sermons, which was by the House of Commons ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman,* thus he expressed himself: "I would be transmitted to posterity (for the little share of time such names as mine can live) under the character of one who loved his country, and would be thought a good Englishman, as well as a good clergyman." I must own a Reflection of his upon my "Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life," when he said; "These Dissenters can abridge any thing but their malice," made some impression, and raised some resentment; I not being aware that there was any occasion given for so unkind an insinuation. But the resentment was entirely dropped upon the reading this passage, the truth of which I have not the least reason to call in question.

August 15. Died Dr. Trimnel,† Bishop of Winchester, who was succeeded in that See by Dr. Richard Willis, who was translated thither from Sarum, in which See he was succeeded by Dr. Benjamin Hoadly.

August 20. Died Mr. Jeremy Smith, of Silver-street, near Cripplegate, where he was succeeded by young Mr. Bures. In the Tuesday lecture, at Salter's Hall, Mr. John Evans was chosen in his room.

October 10. Died Earl Cowper, Lord Chancellor

* See *supra*, p. 254.—Ed.

† See Vol. i. pp. 156, 157.—Ed.

in the reign of Queen Anne.* He had a ready wit, and a great judgment, and was the greatest orator† of his time. He presided in many affairs of moment, and particularly in that of the Union of England

* And of George I. "In one of the rooms" at the family seat, Colne Green, Herts, are hung up in glass cases, the purses that contained the great seals, when he held them, inscribed, 'sigillum Angliæ ultimum, sigillum Britanniæ primum, sigillum Britanniæ restitutum.'" *Biog. Brit.* iv. 394.

"On the first day of the year, it was become a custom, for all those who practised in Chancery, to offer a new-year's gift to the Lord who had the great Seal. These grew to be so considerable, that they amounted to fifteen hundred pounds a year. On his first new-year's day, (1706) he signified to all, who were expected to come with their presents, that he would receive none, but would break that custom. He thought that if it was no bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it." *Burnet*, ii. 439.

"With a greatness of mind that marked his character," says Mr. Noble, "he ordered a chair for Richard Cromwell, when upon a trial in Westminster Hall; recollecting his once elevated station." See "Biog. Hist." (1806) ii. 17.

Mr. Noble mentions "A Pamphlet in Defence of Bigamy, ascribed to his Lordship's pen." *Ibid.* p. 18.

Voltaire having referred to "la Polygamie de Phillippe, Landgrave de Hesse, en 1539," as "assez publique," adds:

"Il est public en Angleterre, et on voudrait le nier en vain, que le Chancelier Cowper épousa deux femmes qui vécurent ensemble dans sa maison avec une concorde singulière qui fit honneur à tous trois. Plusieurs curieux ont encore le petit livre que ce Chancelier composa en faveur de la polygamie." See "Questions sur L'Encyclopédie." (1772) iv. 31.—Ed.

† Pope celebrates "Cowper's manner," and Lord Chesterfield says, his "strength as an orator lay by no means in his reasoning, for he often hazarded very weak ones. But such was

and Scotland, which was of the last consequence, and came off with great honour. It might be said of him as Ben Jonson said of the Lord Verulam, that he commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power; and the fear of every man that heard him speak, was lest he should make an end.*

the purity and elegancy of his style, and such the propriety and charms of his elocution, and such the gracefulness of his action, that he never spoke without universal applause. The ears and the eyes gave him up the hearts and understanding of the audience." *Biog. Brit.* iv. 395.—Ed.

* His eloquence had been worthily employed, May 22, this year, (his last public employment,) to oppose, though without success, "An Act for granting an aid to his Majesty, by laying a tax (of 100,000*l.*) upon Papists." See *supra*, p. 454, *note*.

Earl Cowper, said "that whatever gloss was put upon this law, it would always be looked upon as persecution, by those, at least, who were to be affected by it, and what hardships the Protestants abroad might suffer, when we persecuted the Roman Catholics at home, he left to their Lordships' consideration."

He added, "that no State ever got anything by persecuting its subjects, and that this Bill might force the English Roman Catholics to leave the kingdom, and carry eight or nine hundred thousand pounds into foreign countries." The majority, however, heard, unconvinced "the voice of the charmer," and the Act was passed by sixty-nine against fifty-five. See "Proceeding of the Lords," iii. 403, 404.

A passage immediately following, may, perhaps, serve to explain the urgency of this "tax upon Papists," for "on the third of June, the King embarked on a visit to his German dominions." *Biog. Brit.*—Ed.

This year, Mr. Charles Masterton printed his "Apology for the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland." The heat and contention, however, went on among the Presbyterians in the North there; and in June, a general Synod met among them at Dungannon, which did not help to make things better.

1724, June 11. At the desire of the neighbouring country ministers, I preached and printed an Ordination Sermon, for Mr. Willets of Princes Risborough, Mr. Leeson of Thame, &c. at Ailsbury, entitled "The Ministry of the Dissenters Vindicated." I afterwards added, in the Second Edition, a brief "Letter to the Author of a Pamphlet" against my Sermon, that was entitled, "The Ministry of the Dissenters proved to be null and void, from Scripture and Antiquity."

About this time, I also published "Memoirs of the Life of the late Rev. Mr. John Howe," upon occasion of the publishing all his Works together, in two volumes in folio. This Life is prefixed to the two volumes, and is also to be had separately in octavo.

This year, a legacy of five thousand pounds, left by Sir John Gayer, was adjudged to the Dissenters.

Sir John Gayer, who died about ten years before, in his passage homeward from the East Indies, among several other friendly and charitable legacies, in his will, (of which his lady was executrix,) had bequeathed five thousand pounds to poor ministers,

"not to such as were for domination, or unnecessary separation, but such as were for the pious and charitable principles of the late Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter," &c. This peculiar and fanciful sort of expression, created a difficulty. The lady, zealous for the Established Church, was for giving this legacy to poor ministers of the Church of England, whose principles were, in her apprehension, most pious and charitable. She was herein confirmed by the generality of her friends and acquaintance, who were no more able than she to bear the thoughts of having so large a legacy as this go among the Dissenters, who, in their opinion, were very contemptible persons.

The trustees named in the will, of whom Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronet,* and Mr. Woolley of the East India-house were two, were of another sentiment, and thought this legacy ought to be paid to the Dissenters, for whom they knew it was designed. The executrix and trustees not agreeing, the matter was suffered to rest for some time, without any sort of proceeding in it, till, at length, all the trustees named in the will, except Mr. Woolley, were dead, and the widow was married again to Archibald Hutcheson, Esq.† This gentleman, though warm

* Who had attended Baxter, on his trial before Jeffries, in 1685. "Sir Henry Ashurst," says Calamy, "who could not forsake his own, and his father's friend, stood by him all the while." *Abridg.* p. 368.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 351. *note*.—Ed.

enough for the Church, yet considering the clause in the will, and the character of the deceased, who usually worshipped God among the Dissenters, when he had opportunity for it, and carried a Dissenting chaplain in a disguise to the Indies with him, was convinced in his judgment that this legacy was by him designed for the Dissenters, and he signified as much to Mr. Woolley, the only surviving trustee, intimating at the same time to him, whom he knew to be very conversant with the Dissenters, that if he could prevail with them to commence a suit in the Court of Chancery, he would privately stand their friend, and give such an account of the matter in court, as would promote their reaching their end.

Mr. Woolley communicated the matter to several ministers and gentlemen, and at length made application to our fund, and kindly offered his utmost assistance in order to the recovering this legacy; making a proposal to the trustees, that they should choose two persons to commence a suit in Chancery, in the name of the Dissenters, and that we of the fund should furnish them with what was necessary to carry on the suit. It was readily agreed to, and Mr. Arthur Martyn, our treasurer, and Mr. John Gunston, were chosen for that purpose.

A suit was commenced accordingly, and the cause was pleaded on both sides, and witnesses heard, and Mr. Hutcheson was as good as his word in throwing in, in his deposition, what was of use to us; and, after a long hearing, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Joseph

Jekyl, in a very handsome manner gave a decree in favour of the Dissenters, for which, as it became us, we were very thankful, though he therein but did us justice.

We at length received and distributed the sum amongst poor ministers, elder and younger, according to the best of our judgment and discretion, much to their refreshment and comfort.

In June this year, (1724) the general Synod of the north of Ireland, met at Dungannon, where Mr. Thomas Nevin, minister of Down Patrick had his trial. Articles were brought against him, which were weighed and considered. The great thing charged upon him was, that he should in conversation, in December 1723, drop such words as these; that "it is no blasphemy to say that Christ is not God." His answer to the articles against him, though drawn up in haste, was brisk and smart.

The conversation, in which this passage was dropped, was about the power of the magistrate, and that particularly among the Jews who were the persons spoken of. All that was meant by it was, that "though it was a sin and error in the Jews to deny Christ to be God,"* yet it was "not such as made

* His own orthodoxy, (to adopt a conventional term,) Mr. Nevin thus declares, in a letter to a friend: "If any thing said by me, can, with any show of justice, amount to prove me an Arian, or one that denies the divinity of my dearest Lord, let not country, nor law, nor synod spare me." *Biog. Brit.* 1. 29. —Ed.

them obnoxious to punishment from the secular powers," or for which they deserved to be knocked on the head; but that they were to be tolerated among Christians, and not treated as blasphemers.* Upon reading the trial, it plainly appears, that whatever want of prudence and caution there might be on Mr. Nevin's part in conversation, there appears on the part of the managers against him great sourness, imperiousness, and intolerable arrogance, as well as flagrant injustice.†

Mr. John Abernethy now printed his "Reply to the Rev. Mr. Masterton in defence of the Seasonable Advice to the Dissenters in the north of Ireland,"‡ and Mr. Samuel Haliday§ his "Reasons

* Otherwise, "they would be put to death, instead of being converted; and, by that means the predictions concerning their conversion would be rendered utterly impossible to be fulfilled." *Ibid.*—Ed.

† Dr. Kippis says: "In perusing the proceedings of this assembly of Presbyterian divines, who were not themselves members of an establishment, and who subsisted only on a toleration, obtained but a few years before, we shall find as much bigotry and injustice as are to be met with in any ecclesiastical council."

It had been "resolved (1715) at a meeting at Antrim, that the first thing they should propose and insist upon, as the terms on which they would accept of a toleration, should be upon their subscribing the Westminster Confession of Faith." *Ibid.*—Ed.

‡ "With a postscript, by the Rev. Messrs. Weld, Boyse, and Choppin, in vindication of their recommendatory preface to "The Seasonable Advice." *Ibid.* p. 33.—Ed.

§ See *supra*, p. 397.—Ed.

against the Imposition of Subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, or any such human Tests of Orthodoxy: together with answers to the arguments for such Impositions." Mr. James Kirkpatrick published his "Scripture Plea against a fatal Rupture and Breach of Christian Communion, amongst the Presbyterians in the North of Ireland." Tracts and Pamphlets as much increased and multiplied in those parts, upon occasion of their differences, as they had before done among us in England.

July 16. There was a great tumult in the city of Thorn, in Polish Prussia, which was attended with very sad consequences. It was occasioned by a solemn procession, which produced riotous quarrels between the Romish students and ecclesiastics and the Lutherans,* who had the ascendant in that city, which was much grudged at by their enemies, the Papists. The Jesuits brought this affair before the Tribunal at Warsaw, where the poor Protestants were condemned with great severity; and a military force sent to Thorn to attend the execution.

December 7. The President Rosner, a venerable magistrate, aged sixty-five, was beheaded;† and nine others were executed afterwards, with great and

* See "Tracts by Trenchard and Gordon," ii. 97–103.—Ed.

† "At one o'clock in the morning, by the light of flambeaux." *Ibid.* pp. 111, 112.—Ed.

merciless cruelty.* And their church and school were taken away, and the constitution of the city was quite overturned, in order to the completing the oppression of the Protestant inhabitants.

Hereupon the King of Prussia wrote once and again to Augustus, King of Poland,† though to little purpose. He wrote also to the King of Great Britain, and to the Kings of Denmark and Sweden, and the Czar of Muscovy, to stir them up to interpose on the behalf of the city of Thorn, and its Protestant inhabitants; and it is to be lamented, that his letters were no more regarded, and had no more influence, to the preventing some things that ensued afterwards.

April 30, died Sir William Dawes, Baronet, Arch-

* Worthy of all abhorrence, yet, probably, not more "merciless" than the barbarous eviscerations so frequent in the time of Calamy, as the treason-law of England was then executed in too strict imitation of the Tudors and the Stuarts.

These victims of superstition and tyranny at Thorn "were publicly beheaded, their right hands having been first cut off," (a frequent aggravation of "the bitterness of death" commanded by our Elizabeth) "with this addition" as to three, that "their bodies were burned under the gallows. A butcher's boy closed that bloody scene, whose body was afterwards quartered.

"The commissioners who had assisted at this horrid execution, went to the great Lutheran church, to take possession of it, and the next day they sung *Te Deum* in it." *Ibid.* p. 112.—Ed.

† The King of Prussia's letter was dated "Nov. 28, 1724," and written expressly to prevent "the executions." *Ibid.* p. 108.—Ed.

bishop of York:* into which see, Dr. Lancelot Blackburn, Bishop of Exeter, was translated, in his room.

On the same day died Mr. Benjamin Robinson.† His funeral sermon was preached and printed by Mr. John Cumming. He was succeeded in his congregation at Little St. Helen's, by Mr. Godwin: and in the lecture at Salter's Hall, by Mr. Samuel Wright.

May 21, died Robert, Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer,‡ in the sixty-fourth year of his age.

1725, Jan. 28, N.S. Died Peter Alexowitz, Czar of Muscovy,§ after twelve days' illness, in the fifty-third year of his age. This prince, who made a great noise and figure in Europe, brought the Muscovites, his countrymen, to a more settled intercourse with other nations, which cannot but be of great advantage to their commerce, and much promote their improvement. He introduced among them a variety of arts and sciences, of which that nation had before but a very small tincture. He suppressed a number of superstitious customs; and much improved their military discipline, forming their infantry, which was only fit to defend their own country, into soldiers proper to make conquests. Having, by an instrument signed some time before his de-

* See vol. i. p. 127.—Ed. † See Vol. i. pp. 397, 466.—Ed.
‡ See *supra*, p. 380, *note*.—Ed. § See Vol. i. p. 403.—Ed.

cease, appointed the Czarina* his successor, she was afterwards acknowledged Empress of Russia.

February 7. Mr. Finch, Minister of his Britannic Majesty, made a speech to the Protestant ministers at Ratisbon, on the affair of Thorn. But the Polish Ministers declared this a domestic affair of Poland, and therefore insinuated that the Diet of the Empire had no right to concern themselves in it.

May 6. The trial of Thomas, Earl of Macclesfield, began in the House of Peers, for high crimes and misdemeanours, upon an impeachment of the Commons. It was continued by several adjournments to the twenty-seventh. His sentence was, a fine of thirty thousand pounds to the King; and to be imprisoned in the Tower until payment was made: but many were of opinion that, all things being considered, his lordship had hard measure.†

May 28. The birth-day of his Majesty, King

* To whom he had been married in 1707. See Mottley's "Hist. of the Empress Catharine," (1744) pp. 2-7.—Ed.

† Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Rochester, several years before, had dedicated his edition of Tully *de Oratore* to this nobleman. Twenty years after this trial, he still cherished the memory of his patron, as if "to his virtues very kind," under a grateful remembrance of early benefits.

Thus in 1745, when dedicating Tully *de Officiis* to the Chancellor's son, he recollects the father as "nunquam nisi honoris causâ nominandus," and describes the inheritor of his rank and fortune, as preferring to public life, the pursuits of science and literature, in a private station, "hac unâ calamitate satis edoctus," evidently referring to this prosecution.—Ed.

George. I preached a sermon to a society of young men in Silver Street, from *Psalm* cxix. 9, and published it with this title; "The Word of God the Young Man's best Directory." I was informed this sermon was divided into two, and preached in a country church, distinctly,* by a certain clergyman of my acquaintance, to whom I had made a present of it.

June 1. Lord King† was made Lord Chancellor. 4. His Majesty set out from St. James's, for Hanover.

In June, the Court of Spain openly owned the acceptance of the Emperor's mediation for the restitution of Gibraltar.‡ And in July M. Grimaldo, by the King of Spain's order, wrote a letter to his Britannic Majesty's minister at Madrid, in which he intimated, that the continuance of the alliance and commerce of Great Britain with Spain, depended upon his Majesty's forthwith restoring Gibraltar. So there appeared manifest indications of a rupture approaching.

September 3. A defensive alliance was concluded at Hanover, between his Britannic Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia.§

September 15. I gave an ordination charge to

* See Vol. i. p. *353*.—Ed.

† See Vol. i. p. *226*, *note*.—Ed.

‡ See *supra*, pp. 440, 441.—Ed.

§ See "Histor. Reg." (1726) p. 17.—C.

Mr. William Hunt, at Newport Pagnel, in Bucks, and afterwards printed it. Not long after, I was also concerned in the ordination of Mr. John Underhill, of Dunmow, in Essex.

Mr. Barnes, formerly an haberdasher of hats, in Fleet Street, dying about this time, left a will, of which he made Mr. Osborn, the bookseller, executor. After some legacies to his relations, which amounted to between two and three thousand pounds, he bequeathed the residue of his estate, which amounted to about 12,000*l.* lodged in the Stocks, to Mr. William Tong, Mr. Samuel Wright, Mr. Thomas Bradbury, and me, to be distributed at our discretion among poor Dissenting ministers, that needed help and assistance. He did not leave us the least legacy for our pains, nor consult us about this disposal of his estate, which had he done, there is not any one of us but would have persuaded him to have left more to his poor relations.

1726, Jan. 3. His Majesty returning home from Germany, landed at Rye, in Sussex, after a very troublesome passage, in stormy weather.

In June, this year, the Synod of Dungannon, after a long continued altercation among the Dissenters in the North of Ireland, proceeded to an open breach, excluding the non-subscribers from Communion in Church Judicatories, for denying the Synod's power of imposing particular forms of confession as the sole exclusive tests of Orthodoxy, and terms of Communion; and of issuing scandal by

inquisitory declarations, either in the form of regular jurisdiction or out of it.*

It has, since, been debated by several, whether, all things considered, this breach and separation did more good or hurt. Whether, since they could not agree to differ more amicably, it were not better and more eligible for their ministers to consider and debate about the affairs of religion in their several congregations separately, without heat, than to pretend to meet together for that purpose, and run into heats and quarrels, heart-burnings and contentions, railing and mutual accusations of each other, to the discredit of their characters and profession, and the scandalizing of standers-by and lookers-on.

January 24. Died Mr. John Sheffield, pastor of a congregation in Southwark, formerly under the care of Mr. Nathaniel Vincent. At the desire of his son I preached and printed his funeral sermon, in which I endeavoured to give him his true character.

February 21. Mr. Joseph Bennet,† of the Old Jewry, following him into another world, I preached and printed a funeral sermon for him also.

* This was soon followed with "a seasonable Warning offered by some subscribing ministers in the North to their Congregations." The next year there was printed at Belfast, "a Narrative of the Proceedings of Seven General Synods of the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland, with relation to their Differences, in judgment and practice, from the Year 1720 to 1726, in which they issued in a Synodical breach."—C.

† See Vol. i. p. 348.—Ed.

March 30. Died Mr. James Peirce, of Exeter. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Joseph Hallet, Junior.* About the same time, died Mr. Matthew Clarke, of St. Michael's Lane, Cannon

* Well-known by his "Notes and Discourses" on Scripture, which appeared in 1729, and other learned works.

Dr. Avery relates that his friend "Mr. Peirce was buried in the church-yard belonging to the parish in which he died, St. Leonard's, near Exeter. His surviving relations" procured, from a literary friend, an epitaph, commemorating his piety and learning. This "the Rev. Mr. Gey," rector of the parish, would not "permit to be placed in his Church-yard."

"He objected to these words: *nullo suo commodo, aut incommodo, adduci potuit quo minus publice profiteretur:* (no views of advantage or disadvantage could prevail with him not to profess them publicly.) This was heretical obstinacy, and it was a point of conscience with him not to have Mr. Peirce recommended for this, to posterity. In the inscription he is said to have been, *scriptis eruditis celebratus,* (celebrated for learned writings.) Some of these were against the Church and some against Orthodoxy. Therefore he could not be easy to have them well spoken of, in any place under his care and inspection.

"It was, afterwards, requested that he would give leave to have inscribed on the tomb, 'Here lies the reverend, learned and pious Mr. James Peirce.' But the reverend rector" objected "that Mr. Peirce could not be reverend, because he was not lawfully ordained; and that he was not pious, because he taught errors.

"For the peace and quiet of the reverend Mr. Gey's conscience, the inscription on this great and good man's tomb, in this church-yard, is only this; 'Mr. James Peirce's tomb, 1726.'" See "Fifteen Sermons," (1728) *Pref.* pp. v-ix.—Ed.

Street. His funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Neal.*

July 8. Died John Kerr, of Kerrsland, Esquire, the writer of the Memoirs,† who lies buried on the north side of St. George's church-yard, in Southwark.

This year, my eldest son, Edmund,‡ whom I trust God will own and bless, was chosen assistant at Mr. Grosvenor's, in Crosby Square.§ I could not but yield to his accepting, in hope of his usefulness, though I was therein put to the exercise of some self-denial, all things considered. For I, this way, lost the satisfaction and comfort of his assistance and help, for the remaining part of my life; and my congregation are not so likely to have him succeed me,‖ as if he had continued with me, which in my apprehension had been for the benefit of the Dissenting interest in a principal quarter.

* The Historian of "New England," and of "The Puritans."—Ed.

† See *supra*, pp. 45. 65, *notes*.—Ed.

‡ With whom Dr. Birch corresponded, in 1736, to learn particulars respecting the Lives of the Calamy family, for the "General Dictionary." *Ayscough MSS.* 4221-46.* See *supra*, p. 307. Mr. Calamy died, 1755. *G. Mag.* xxv. 284.—Ed.

§ "Where," says Dr. Toulmin, "he had a crowded auditory. A singular acumen, lively imagination, and warm devotion of heart, characterized his discourses, which were delivered with a graceful utterance." Dr. Grosvenor died 1758, aged 82. He had been engaged, 1716-1718, with Dr. Avery, Mr. Simon Browne, &c. in the "Occasional Paper." *Neal*, i. p. xxv. *note*.—Ed.

‖ See *supra*, p. 437, *note*.—Ed.

1727. The face of affairs in Europe was now much altered from what it appeared a little while since. We were in a sort of calm, but clouds gathered round us on a sudden.

A speech from the throne, in the present juncture, was soon followed with suitable addresses, not only from the two Houses, but also from most parts of the kingdom: and among the rest, the Protestant Dissenting ministers, in and about London and Westminster, waited on his Majesty at St. James's.*

* March 11, with the Address following:—

"May it please your Majesty,

"With hearts full of duty and gratitude for the many inestimable blessings we enjoy, under your Majesty's wise and gracious government, we beg leave to express our most hearty concurrence with the rest of your loyal subjects, in a just concern and resentment at the attempts of some foreign powers, to violate at once the rights of your Majesty's Crown, and the most valuable interests of your people. Not content with a design to impoverish a rich and flourishing nation, by turning the stream of commerce into another channel, or with the demand of places essential to the security of our trade, acquired in a just war, and ascertained to us by solemn treaties, they would add the worst of mischiefs, the imposition of a Popish Pretender.

"This last insult, above all others, raises our indignation. If ever God, for our sins, should suffer that vile project to take effect, it must entirely reverse all the distinguishing advantages procured to these kingdoms, by the glorious Revolution, and since farther secured with the expense of so much blood and treasure, and deprive late posterity of all the happiness contrived for them by the wise counsels of King William, of immortal memory. It must subvert our fundamental laws, which

The address was delivered by Mr. Joseph Bur-

secure the right of your Majesty, and of your Protestant descendants to reign over Britain, as firmly as they secure to British subjects their private rights. It must, therefore, inevitably involve us in confusion and ruin; and not affect Britons alone, but the liberties of Europe, and the Protestant interest in general. For we are persuaded the conviction is growing universal, that neither the one nor the other of these can subsist without the Protestant succession.

"Though events are out of all human reach, yet we cannot but hope, from the watchful care of that kind Providence which hath been so often exerted in our favour, from the justice of the cause in which we are engaged, from the wise precautions already taken by your Majesty, from the fidelity and steadiness of your counsels, from the zeal of your Parliament, and from your great and extensive alliances, that such pernicious designs, instead of being attended with success, will be made to issue in the farther establishment of your Majesty's throne, and the tranquillity of your people.

"For this we offer our hearty prayers to the King of Kings; and we shall not cease to use our best endeavours, to recommend all dutiful and cheerful subjection to your righteous government. And while we are repeating the assurance of our inviolable adherence to your Majesty and your royal house, we believe we speak the sense of all who attend our ministrations, who are zealously devoted, by principle and affection, as well as by interest, to your person and family.

"May your Majesty, secure of transmitting your crown and glory to your royal progeny, and happy in seeing the confirmed health and prosperity of every branch of your family, long live the arbiter of Europe, the patron of the oppressed everywhere; and the common father of Protestants. And may yourself enjoy, for many years in peace, the blessed consequences of all your royal cares; reigning over a people duly sensible of their

roughs,* who with his brethren was introduced by the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Townshend, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State. His Majesty was pleased to receive them very graciously; and they all had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.

Soon after this, Gibraltar† was besieged. Many were weakly apprehensive it was designed to be given up, though nothing of that nature appears intended. Succours were sent, and the garrison defended themselves with great courage and bravery. The assailants made little impression.

March 20. Died Sir Isaac Newton,‡ the glory of

own felicity; more reformed from public threatening vices; and more united than ever, in piety to God, in loyalty to their prince, in liberty to serve their country, and in mutual affection one to another."

His Majesty was pleased to return a gracious answer in these words:

"I thank you for this dutiful and loyal Address. This seasonable instance of your zeal for my person and government, cannot but be very acceptable to me. You may depend upon my continued protection."—C.

* Minister "fifty-two years, to the general Baptist congregation, Barbican," till his decease, 1761, aged seventy-six; "through life the steady friend of liberty and free enquiry, and the strenuous promoter of the common interests of religion." See Dr. Toulmin's *Neal*, 1. p. xxvi. *note*.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 485.—Ed.

‡ Several of his Letters to Locke, never before printed, have been lately published by Lord King, from the Originals. See *supra*, p. 443, *note*.—Ed.

his country, for his exquisite skill in natural philosophy, and the mathematical sciences. He left the world in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

March 21. Died Mr. William Tong,* of Salter's Hall. Mr. John Newman,† co-pastor of his congregation, thenceforward had the sole care of it; and his son was chosen assistant. In the Tuesday lecture, he was succeeded by Mr. William Harris.

June 3. His Majesty went again for Hanover, and left all easy at home. 14. A messenger arrived, express, with the melancholy news that he departed this life, the 11th, about three in the morning, at Osnaburgh, being carried off by an apoplectic fit, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign. His Majesty was much indisposed after landing in Holland, Tuesday, June 6, through the fatigue of his passage by sea. But, being desirous to finish his journey, without making any considerable stay by the way, he travelled after the rate of one hundred and fifty miles a day, without regular rest, or refreshment. Thursday, he was ill again, and ate his dinner heartily, but afterwards grew very ill, and was unhappily blooded upon the

* See *Appendix*, No. 1.—Ed.

† "Who delivered to crowded audiences, long and laboured sermons, without any assistance from notes. He died 1741, aged sixty-four, while in full reputation and usefulness, much missed and lamented." See Dr. Toulmin's *Neal*, 1, p. xxv. *note*.—Ed.

road. Saturday, he reached Osnaburgh, where he died, at the palace of his brother, the Duke of York, and (as it was said,) in the very room in which he was born.

His death was much lamented, and not without reason. Never was a Prince known, more intent upon making all his subjects easy and happy.* He often troubled his Parliaments about the Pretender and his designs. But that must be ascribed to the management of those that were at helm, in the reign of his predecessor. His will was never published, which is ascribed to several causes, though most of them are mere conjectures. How matters really stood between his Majesty and the Duchess of Kendal,† must and will remain, for the most part, a secret, until the great ones are pleased to make discoveries.

* The following anecdote agreeably represents this Prince, as seeking to make himself "happy," by a laudable attention to intellectual improvement.

"It was the custom of George I. to unbend his mind, in the evening, by collecting together a company of philosophical foreigners, who discoursed in an easy and familiar manner, with each other, entirely unrestrained by the presence of his Majesty, who generally walked about, or sat in a retired part of the chamber." See "Mem. of Berkeley," (1784) p. 21, *note*.—Ed.

† "Whom the King delighted to honour." For the gradations of rank which George I. in this case, had created by royal prerogative, not unlike his cousin, Charles II., to augment and adorn the British Peerage, see *Chron. Hist.* ii. 65, 91.

On "matters between his Majesty and the Duchess of Ken-

CHAPTER X.

1727—1731.

Hints relating both to public and private matters in the Reign of King George the Second.

SIR Robert Walpole, who received the express, by the messenger, of the death of King George I. as he was at Chelsea, went away immediately, to the Prince and Princess at Richmond; and so made his court, that he continued in the same degree of favour with the son, as he enjoyed under the father, if not greater.

dal," Dr. Calamy appears doubtful and mysterious, and, probably, "the great ones" never ventured "to make discoveries." This Duchess had occupied, for several years, in the favour of George I. the place early left vacant by his repudiated cousin and consort, (See *supra*, p. 288, *note*,) with whom he had acquired the Dukedom of Zell. She has been described as "a lady equally virtuous and unfortunate." See "Biog. Hist." iii. 3, 5.

"Nov. 2, 1726. Sophia Dorothea, Queen of Great Britain, died at the Castle of Ahlen, in the Electorate of Hanover, where she had been confined for many years." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 168. Whether this Princess, here mocked with the style of royalty, as if to dignify the prison and the grave, had suffered a durance of thirty years, (the reputed number,) under the law of the strongest, or under a "righteous judgment," has been disputed. Time, by which truth is not seldom "brought to light," notwithstanding the courtly reserve of "the great ones," may possibly discover this among "the hidden things of darkness."—ED.

The Prince and Princess came from Richmond to Leicester House, the place where they, for some time, had most usually resided, whither the Lords of the Privy Council were summoned that evening, for signing the proclamation, as was usual at the beginning of a new reign, for declaring his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, King of these realms, by the name of King George II.

His Majesty made a gracious declaration in Council that evening, upon the sudden alteration that had happened, and the next day was proclaimed, with solemnity; first, in the Court before Leicester House, and in Leicester Square, and, afterwards, both in Westminster, and in the City of London, at the usual places. Both Houses of Parliament met the same day, and the members took the oaths to the new King, and were by commission prorogued to June 27, at which time his Majesty made a speech to his two Houses, and all things went on smoothly as before, and with general satisfaction.

Upon this sudden change, addresses soon came in from all parts, in abundance, and it was no small pleasure to the hearty lovers of their country, to see the son so peaceably settled on his father's throne, without the least opposition or disturbance. Among the rest that mingled their sorrow and joy upon the occasion, the body of the Dissenting Ministers of the three denominations, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, attended at Court, July 4, with an humble address to his Majesty. They were

about one hundred in number, and had Mr. John Evans, at their head.*

* Their address was in the words following :—

" May it please your Majesty,

" Whilst your Majesty's royal declaration so tenderly mentions the sudden and unexpected death of your dearest father, all loyal subjects, as becomes their different stations, are mourning the loss of one common father to his people. The Protestant Dissenting Ministers can never forget his paternal favours and condescensions; and we beg your Majesty will give us leave on this great occasion to speak our affecting sense of that awful Providence, which hath finished a reign so important and gracious, as that of King George the First. By this mighty stroke, the world is bereaved of one of the wisest and best of princes, and the reformed religion of its chief glory and defence.

" But the immediate and peaceful succession of George the Second, dries up our tears. A Protestant heir thus coming to the throne of his father, is a new blessing to Britain; a prince who gave the world so early proof of his spirit and courage in the field; who hath shown so much goodness since his abode in this kingdom, and given us such agreeable presages of happiness, upon his wearing the imperial crown of these realms. This consideration, together with that of a Queen consort, entirely Protestant, and universally beloved, fills our hearts with joy, that greatly and justly exceeds all our sorrow. By this means, the reformed religion gains fresh support and glory; and all transactions for the peace and settlement of Europe, proceed with renewed life and vigour. Thus, when it pleased Almighty God, (by whom kings reign) to inspire your glorious predecessor, King William, to lay the foundation of the Protestant succession, in the illustrious and numerous family of Brunswick, he provided both an effectual relief of our present sorrows, and a lasting guard against future dangers.

" We rejoice in the wise conduct, and those kind disposals of

They were introduced by Mr. Vice Chamberlain Stanhope, in the absence of the Duke of Grafton,

Providence, which have tied up the hands of all declared enemies to your august house, so that they have it not in their power at present, by any means, to disturb either your Majesty's proceedings or our joys. This is such a confirmation of your Majesty's illustrious family, as we trust will for ever extinguish their hopes, who have hitherto vainly struggled for a Popish Pretender.

"On our parts, we can assure your Majesty, of hearts full of loyalty and affection to your person and Government. And so far as belongs to our stations and characters, we shall not fail both to teach the duties owing to crowned heads, and to practise them ourselves upon every occasion. It is with pleasure we can farther assure your Majesty, that the Protestant Dissenters, we believe to a man, are in the same loyal sentiments. And we doubt not our continued share in those liberties your Majesty hath graciously declared are most dear to you. We rely upon your Princely wisdom and care, to do every thing that may strengthen and unite sincere Christians and Protestants; and heartily wish our suffering brethren abroad, the same blessings with ourselves.

"We shall not cease to offer up unfeigned and ardent prayers to Almighty God, that your Majesty may long live the defender of our religion, laws, and liberties, and the succourer of the distressed; that you may be prospered in perfecting the great work now depending, beyond the seas; that decaying piety may revive throughout your own dominions, and an universal probity of manners may be promoted; that, with your Royal Consort, you may reign in the hearts of all your subjects, and in your royal issue may reign from one generation to another; and that all manner of blessings may be multipled on the house, person, and administration of your sacred Majesty."

To which address his Majesty was pleased to return a most gracious answer in the words following:—

Lord Chancellor of his Majesty's Household. His Majesty was pleased to receive them very graciously, and they had all the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand.

They were afterwards introduced to the Queen, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Grantham, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesty's Household. At the common request of the whole body, I made a speech to her Majesty.*

"I thank you for this loyal and affectionate address. You may be assured of my protection, and of my care and attention to support the Protestant interest."—C.

* In the words following:—

"May it please your Majesty.

"We cheerfully embrace the opportunity that presents, of expressing our duty to your Majesty, encouraged by that conjunction of goodness with greatness, and that commanding air of life and sweetness, that animates all that have the honour to approach you.

"We sincerely congratulate your ascending the throne, which we hope will prove easy, being adorned with those noble virtues, and particularly with that benevolence to mankind, which are so conspicuous in your Majesty.

"When a regard to religion could prevail with a princess of your high birth, even in the earliest part of life, to slight the prospect of a crown, which had visible danger to conscience attending it; that kind Heaven at length should reach you forth another, as remarkable for its safety as its glory, is such a return of divine providence, as we cannot but admire with great thankfulness, though without the least surprise; since he whose kingdom ruleth over all, has fixed it as a standing measure of his government, that such as honour him he will honour.

"May your Majesty's happiness be lasting, and your name always carry a delightful sound to every British ear. May both

Her Majesty was pleased to receive us very graciously, and we all had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand.

Wednesday, Oct. 11, the King and Queen were crowned at Westminster, in great pomp and state. The procession to and from the Abbey upon that occasion, of which I was a spectator, was very magnificent. Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford, preached the coronation sermon from 2 *Chron.* ix. 8.

Oct. 30, the King's Birth-day, which was the day of Sir Robert Beecher's entering on his Mayoralty, the King and Queen and the Princesses went into the city, and dined at Guildhall, and there were all imaginable marks of an universal joy.

About this time, Mr. John Hardy, for some years pastor of the chief congregation in Nottingham, on a sudden, with very little warning, and without any visible cause, fell in with the Established Church.

your Majesties have a yearly accession of new glories and comforts; may your offspring, educated with so much care, and from whom we have such raised expectations, prove eminent blessings to the Reformed Churches both at home and abroad; and may an infinitely nobler crown than this earth can afford, and that will never be laid down, be added hereafter by the same Almighty hand, by which your Majesty has been so remarkably distinguished hitherto.

"These, Madam, are and will be the ardent prayers of the Protestant Dissenters, who having nothing more at heart than the continuance and advancement of piety, truth, and love, loyalty, liberty, and property, promise themselves your Majesty's countenance and protection."—C.

This was a gentleman I had shown much kindness to, and used great freedom with, and he with me; for which reason I could not help thinking it strange, that he should engage in a design of this kind, without communicating it to me beforehand. I had taken him into my house and family, and treated him as a brother, not suffering him to want any thing necessary or convenient, at a time when he was wholly destitute, and had not a friend in the world to help him.

His father (a clergyman of the Church of England, who had a good living in Lancashire, the reversion of which he had secured to this his eldest son) had cast him off, on account of his differing so much from him in his sentiments about Ecclesiastical matters. The old gentleman had indeed used him very unnaturally and unhandsomely: and, after putting books into his hands to read, he would discourse with him about their contents, and, when they could not, upon conferring together afterwards, agree as to the force of the arguments used, which the father thought strong, and the son could not see the force of, they fell into heats, and he would sometimes use him very indecently. At length they fell out to that degree, that the father turned the son out of doors, leaving him to shift for himself in the wide world, with but three shillings and sixpence in his pocket.

He being this way exposed, applied and made his case known to the Dissenters of Liverpool, who took

pity upon him, and sent him to finish his preparatory studies for the Ministry, under Mr. James Owen, bearing his charges there, with the help of our fund at London. When he had finished there, he came to London, where his *viaticum* was soon consumed; and being much a stranger, and modest, and shy of making the particulars of his case known, he was starving in a garret, when I sent for him to dine with me, freely discoursed with him, gave him money to pay all his debts, and took him under my roof, treating him as one of my domestics, until he was provided for.

The provision I made for him was agreeable and promising. The Lady Clinton (who was one of my flock) sent him down into Lincolnshire as her chaplain, to preach in the church at Sempringham (within a few miles of Falkingham) with an allowance of threescore pounds a-year. Before he went, he was publicly ordained at my place of worship, in Westminster, my Lady Clinton being present. He met with good acceptance there, and was much resorted to by persons that came from the neighbouring parishes, but opposed by the Bishop, who threatened to commence a suit against Lady Clinton, for sending one thither that had not Episcopal orders. Lady Clinton was assured, by persons learned in the law, that she was no way obliged to ask the Bishop's consent in the case, but had a right to employ whom she pleased as her chaplain there, it being a place not under Episcopal jurisdiction.

But, finding the Bishop was for going to law, and

being advanced in years, she was not willing to contend or stand a suit, unless the Duke of Newcastle (who was to succeed in the estate upon her demise) would stand by her, and bear the charge. The Duke, being consulted, was not for contending for his right with the Bishop, and so my Lady dropped the matter, and took Mr. Hardy out of the church, and at her own charge fitted up an old Popish chapel upon her estate, and licensed it, and gave him an handsome yearly allowance. All the neighbours, that were so inclined, had liberty to resort thither for the worship of God, and he had a comfortable auditory.

Some time after, happening to preach at Nottingham, when there was a vacancy there, he had a pressing invitation to remove thither, and he referring the people to me, I advised him by all means to accept their invitation, for which that people were very thankful to me, thinking him a great blessing to their town. His quitting them at last, so suddenly, and taking orders from a Bishop, was a great surprise to them, and to many others that heard of it.

Several others about this time conformed, of which number were Mr. John Horsley, Mr. John Johnson, Mr. Hay, Mr. Maddox, Mr. Quintus Naylor, Mr. Myonet, Mr. Quinsey, &c. Others did the same before; as Mr. Seager, Mr. Butler,* Mr.

* Bishop of Durham, author of "The Analogy," and of admired sermons. He was educated, with Secker in Mr. Jones's academy, Tewkesbury. See *Biog. Brit.* ii. 94.—Ed.

Thomas Secker,* Mr. Hasset, Mr. Standen, of Newbury, the two Jacombs, Mr. Bellamy, Mr. Briscoe,† of Newington Green, and Mr. Billio, eldest son to Mr. Billio who succeeded Dr. Bates, at Hackney. The same course was afterwards taken by the younger son of Mr. Billio, of Hackney; Mr. Strickland Gough, whose father died a minister among the Dissenters, at Bristol; Mr. Henry Owen, a nephew of Mr. James Owen; Mr. Orre, who came from Ireland; Mr. Thomas Harrison, Mr. Richards, in Leicestershire, Mr. Winter, and Mr. Inman. This occasioned much speculation and discourse.

Some of those who had before gone over from us to

* In 1721, aged twenty-eight. See *supra*, pp. 217, 218, *note*.

"When Dr. Secker became Archbishop of Canterbury," says Archdeacon Blackburne, "his friends and dependents thought it necessary to represent, that his connections with the Dissenters had been extremely loose and unconfined. There were, however, some who pretended to remember that one Mr. Secker preached a probation sermon to a Dissenting congregation (Bolsover) in Derbyshire." See "Historical View," Ch. xxvii. (1772) pp. 240–243.

There is an anecdote, which shows how little Secker seemed disposed, at this time, to enter on the road towards the high fortune which awaited him. "He had expressed himself among some Dissenting ministers, in terms strongly declaratory of his ambitious turn of mind. 'Aye,' says one of them, 'nothing will do for you, Secker, but conformity.' 'No,' replied Secker, with indignant earnestness, 'conform, I never can.'" See "Mem. of Wakefield," (1804) i. 171, 172.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 364.—Ed.

the Church had been scandalous; as Mr. William Nokes,* &c. But it was otherwise as to those who now conformed. They were, generally, persons of sobriety and unblemished character, and might, therefore, be received and caressed by those whom they fell in with, with a better grace.

It was also observed, as to several that had gone over from the Dissenters, in former reigns, that as they either were, or at least thought themselves under a necessity of flying pretty high, in order to the meriting some regard, and proving the reality of their change, so were their spirits afterwards often soured to that degree, as to discover enmity and contempt with respect to those whose company they quitted, and had before a good esteem of.

Mr. Theophilus Dorrington not only left the Dissenters, but upon some occasions gave his old friends hard words, and wrote a tract in condemnation of their ministers. Mr. Westley, after his conforming, drew up and published "A Letter concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies." Mr. Samuel Palmer writing in defence of the Dissenters, (though he himself thought fit afterwards to desert them, and turn Conformist) Mr. Westley wrote a reply, and discovered an unbecoming bitterness in his disposition towards his *quondam* friends.† Mr. Gatton also, who preached some years among the Dissenters, with whom he had had

* See Vol. i. p. 139.—Ed.

† See Vol. i. pp. 458, 459.—Ed.

his education, wrote handsomely enough upon a comprehension, yet afterwards grew very sour and peevish, upon going into the Church.

Those that conformed, in this reign, as they generally found an easier admission, and the way more open to preferment, so did they generally keep their tempers better, and were charged by their Ecclesiastical superiors to take care to do so, with an intimation that this would be a more likely way to recommend them, than an opposite carriage and behaviour. But then it was easy to be observed, and much taken notice of, that most that conformed about this time, complained much of a spirit of imposition working among the Dissenters, which discovered itself in the proceedings at Salter's Hall, and on other occasions, after the debates about the Trinity grew warm.

Some that complained much, and with eagerness, of this as a great hardship and discouragement, and inveighed against it with freedom, threw themselves into a Church and legal establishment that was very strict for full subscription, and left no room nor scope to those that were intrusted with the care of the constitution, to make the least allowance for abatements, in compliance with the difficulties that might be started, by such as were scrupulous and tender-spirited. This was, by many, apprehended to have but an odd aspect, and not to be very consistent. It may possibly have considerable consequences attending it, some time or other, hereafter.

There was also about this time great diligence and application used in the choice of members of Parliament:* and a considerable majority of Whigs was returned.

This year also, I published "A Continuation of the Account of Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters, who were ejected and silenced after the Restoration in 1660, by or before the Act for Uniformity. To which is added, The Church and Dissenters compared as to persecution, in some Remarks on Dr. Walker's Attempt to recover the names and sufferings of the Clergy that were sequestered, &c. between 1640 and 1660.† And also some free Remarks on the twenty-eighth Chapter of Dr. Bennet's Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion." To which there is prefixed a large and free Dedication, "to all those who have entered into the work and office of the Ministry, amongst the Protestant Dissenters, since we have been favoured with a Legal Toleration."

Now also was published "The Britannic Constitution; or, The Fundamental Form of Government: demonstrating the original contract entered into by King and People, according to the primary Institutions thereof, in this Nation. Wherein is proved, that the placing on the throne King William the Third, was the natural fruit and effect of the original Constitution: and that the Succession to this

* See *supra*, p. 447.—Ed.

† See *supra*, pp. 307, 308.—Ed.

Crown, established in the present Protestant heirs, is *de jure*, and justified by the fundamental laws of Great Britain. And many important original powers and privileges of both Houses of Parliament, are exhibited. By Roger Acherley,* of the Inner Temple, London, Esquire."

This book, (which some endeavoured to decry and run down,) among other things, gives good proof that King, Lords, and Commons, are the three estates of the realm, in opposition to the high flyers, who have at all times discovered a mighty zeal for the contrary notion. And, indeed, this is not at all new. For that the supreme power in England is in King, Lords, and Commons, was in effect agreed to, by King Charles the First, in his answer to the Nineteen Propositions,† and resolved by the convention of Lords and Commons, in the year 1661.‡ The same

* See *supra*, p. 278.—Ed.

† "Nothing," he says, "more concerned the public, and was, indeed, more proper for the High Court of Parliament than the making of laws; which not only ought there to be transacted, but could be transacted no where else. But then they must admit his Majesty to be a part of the Parliament; which would be counted in him, not only breach of privilege, but tyranny and subversion of Parliaments to deny to them." See Clarendon's "Hist. of Rebellion," (1705) i. 646, 647; "Parl. Hist." (1762) xi. 240, 241.—Ed.

‡ See upon this matter of the three estates, "Fuller's Appeal of injured Innocence," Book III., 52, 53, 54; and Mr. Washington.—C.

This question (which Sir Thomas Smith's "Commonwealth of England" had so long decided) was, on its revival, under the

book also cuts the sinews of the applauded book that was published in 1713, by Dr. Bedford, and

Stuarts, discussed ably, even in the opinion of the author's opponents, by the Rev. Philip Hunton, ejected in 1662 from Westbury. His "Treatise of Monarchy," a small volume, "printed, 1680," had first appeared, 1643, as "done by an earnest desirer of his country's peace," thus referring to the question between the King and the Parliament, then committed to the decision of the sword. The author says;

"I have not annexed my name, not that I am ashamed to own what I conceive to be the truth; but because I know who I am, and that my name could add no estimation to the treatise. Nor do I desire it should. They who search for truth must regard things, not persons. Give me, therefore, the common liberty to go nameless. Many have taken it for worse ends. If any condemn me for any thing here, it must be for endeavouring a thankless moderation betwixt two extremes."

The rough usage which this work encountered at Oxford, of whose University the author was a member, is thus described by her historian and biographer.

"The Treatise of Monarchy, which hath been, and is still in great vogue among many persons of Commonwealth and levelling principles, was reprinted, when the press was open, in 1680. But, forasmuch as it is said therein, that the sovereignty of England is in the three Estates, viz., King, Lords and Commons, that proposition was condemned by the judgment and decree of the University, in their Convocation, held July 21, 1683, [See Vol. i. pp. 112–114] and the book itself, wherein it is, was then publicly burnt in the school quadrangle." *Athen. Oxon.* (1692) ii. 532. See Dr. Calamy's *Account*; p. 755.

Sir Robert Filmer published, in 1679, "Reflections concerning the original of Government." After controverting "Aristotle's Politiques, Mr. Hobbes's Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius," and "H. Grotius de jure belli," he introduces,

"Observations upon Mr. Hunton's 'Treatise of Monarchy,'

entitled, "The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England asserted, and the English Constitution vindicated:"* and makes the best use of Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, that is capable of being made of it, or that could be desired to be made of it, in order to the supporting and defending the true British constitution.

August 25. Died Mr. Thomas Reynolds. His zeal for a subscription of doctrinal articles in order to prevent Heterodoxy, which rose very high, and in which I could not, by any means, concur with him, though we often and freely discoursed about it, was the occasion of some coolness between him and me, after an intimate friendship of many years' continuance.† His funeral sermon was preached by Mr.

or the anarchy of a limited or mixed monarchy." Filmer, so unfavourably known by his *Patriarcha*, (though on the then ill-considered questions of witchcraft and usury, he had all the discernment of the present day) thus longs to recal "the former times," and laments, over modern political degeneracy.

"The ancient doctrine of government, in these later days, hath been strangely refined, by an opinion, that the people have originally a power, to create several sorts of monarchy, and to limit and compound them at their pleasure." This contempt of the people is suitably introduced, by Claudian's common-place flattery of a prince, which adorns the title-page, opposite to an *effigies* of that "most religious King," Charles II.:

nunquam libertas gratior extat,
Quam sub Rege pio.

See "Diary of Burton," iii. 273, 274, *note*.—Ed.

* See *supra*, pp. 268, 269. 279, 280.—Ed.

† See Vol. i. pp. 339. 348. 491.—Ed.

Wood, who became his assistant after Mr. James Read was dismissed (a piece of management I could no way approve of, though I heard what could be offered on both sides, distinctly;) and also succeeded him in his congregation. In the Tuesday Lecture at Salter's Hall, he was succeeded by Mr. John Newman.*

1728, Jan. 23. The King's first Parliament sat down. Arthur Onslow, Esquire, was chosen Speaker of the Commons. 27. His Majesty made his speech, wherein he gave great hopes of a general pacification, by a speedy execution of the preliminaries.

There were great heats in the House of Commons between William Pulteney, Esquire, and Sir Robert Walpole, about public accounts, and debts, &c. They two were at variance in the preceding reign, but now proclaimed open war against each other. The issue, at the present, was "a Representation" from the Commons to his Majesty, with which he appeared to be well pleased; because, as he told them, "the provision made for gradually discharging the national debt, was now become so certain and considerable, that nothing but some unforeseen event could alter or diminish it: which," said he, "gives us the fairest prospect of seeing the old debts discharged, without any necessity of incurring new ones."

March 4. The Dutch Ambassadors, Count Welderen and Monsieur Sylvius, made their public entry, which was magnificent, had audience of their

* See *supra*, p. 498.—Ed.

Majesties, and made a handsome compliment. There was a great deal of discourse among us, of a Congress to be opened at Soissons, in France, in a few months.

May 28. The King put an end to the first session of the Parliament, telling them that he expected soon to hear that the Congress was opened; and that, the preliminary articles having laid so good a foundation for a general pacification, he hoped soon to see a happy conclusion of this important transaction. They were prorogued to August 8.

In the month of May we had five hundred pounds paid out of the Treasury, as his Majesty's bounty to Dissenting ministers and poor widows, for the half-year ending at Christmas last: but we were forced to drop arrears for the last year of King George I., as generally done in the case of pensions, and supplies from the Crown.*

October 9. Died Thomas Bennet, D.D. rector of St. Giles, Cripplegate, by whom I was much threatened, for the freedom I had used with him from the press in my "Continuation."†

Oct. 13. Died Mr. John Mottershed,‡ many years pastor of a congregation about Ratcliff. I preached his funeral sermon, and afterwards printed it. He was succeeded by Mr. Tidcomb, who came from the West of England.

In November, this year, (1728) the principal and

* See *supra*, pp. 467, 468.—Ed. † See *supra*, p. 507.—Ed.
‡ See Vol. i. p. 106.—Ed.

professors of Edinburgh complimented several of our ministers in England with a doctorate in divinity. The persons so dignified, were Mr. Jabez Earle,* Mr. John Evans, Mr. Isaac Watts, Mr. William

* Who died, 1768, aged 92, "suddenly, in his chair, without a sigh, or a groan. He had not experienced," adds Dr. Kippis, "a moment's ill-health, and would scarcely have known what pain was, had it not been for breaking his arm. All his faculties continued in great perfection, excepting his eye-sight. His vivacity and cheerfulness of temper never forsook him to his latest breath; and he abounded in pleasant stories.

"He had published, in his earlier days, several occasional sermons, a treatise on the sacrament, and a small collection of poems, in Latin and English. His chief excellence as a scholar, was in classical learning. When he was above ninety years old, he would repeat, with the greatest readiness and fluency, a hundred verses, or more, from Homer, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, or others of the ancient poets, upon their being occasionally mentioned."

Dr. Kippis adds, "as an instance of his cheerful turn of mind," the following lines which he sent to his friend Harris, on their present association in academical distinctions.

"Since dunces now are Doctors made,
As well as men of skill,
What does the title signify?
I'll tell thee, honest Will.
The same as trappings to a horse,
Which, be he fleet or jade,
Not for his own, but rider's sake,
So wondrous fine is made.
So, when our Universities
Doctorial honours give,
'Tis not *our* merit they declare,
But *their* prerogative." *Biog. Brit.* i. 177.—Ed.

Harris, Mr. John Comyng, and Mr. Zephaniah Maryat,* of London; and Mr. Charles Owen, of Warrington. The first of these, with Mr. Obadiah Hughes,† received the same compliment from King's College, old Aberdeen. Diplomas were afterwards sent from Edinburgh to Mr. Benjamin Grosvener,‡ and Mr. Samuel Wright; also to Mr. Edward Wigglesworth, the first Professor of Divinity in Harvard College,§ and to Mr. Colman, of Boston, New England,‖ and another from Aberdeen, to Mr. James Anderson, of Westminster. Mr. Wishart, whose father had been Principal of the College of Edinburgh, leaving Scotland to succeed Dr. Comyng in the Scotch Church at Founder's Hall, was also made D. D. by the College of Glasgow.

About this time died Mr. Joseph Boyce, of Dublin,¶

* Who died, 1754. When "far advanced in life," in 1743, he was invited, from the reputation of his "considerable learning and talents," to preside over the Academical Institution among the Independents, now so well known as the "Homerton College." See "An address to the Society, instituted 1730, and holding the doctrines of the Reformed Churches, as summarily expressed in the catechisms of the Westminster Assembly," (1819) pp. 12–15.—Ed.

† See *supra*, p. 437.—Ed. ‡ See *supra*, p. 489.—Ed.

§ "An eminent theologian," says Dr. Holmes, "and distinguished for his learning, humility, and piety." He died, 1765, aged 73.—*Amer. Annals*, (1808) ii. 232.—Ed.

‖ See *supra*, p. 238.—Ed.

¶ See vol. i. p. 107. The following curious relation of *second sight*, and additional notices of *regium donum*, I found at the

whose works had been lately reprinted in one volume in folio. His funeral sermon was preached

British Museum in a MS. which appears, from circumstances, to be an original.

" Mem. I heard, both Dr. Gilbert Rulé, (now Principal of Edinburgh College) and Mr. Archibald Hamilton, (an antient Presbyterian minister in the North of Ireland,) relate the following passage, in the time of King Charles the Second's reign, viz. That in the year 1650, there was a meeting or Synod of Presbyterian ministers in the North of Ireland; among whom, one antient minister sat, seemingly drowsy, while the rest were de bating some matters before them. Upon which, being asked if he were taking a nap, he replied, no, his soul had been ravished with the prospect of the happy days the Church of God in these kingdoms should enjoy under a Prince of Orange.

" That this passage was, by the said reverend persons related to me some time before King Charles the Second's death, I do freely attest. J. Boyse.

" My Lord Granard, (I have been assured by those that reaped the benefit of it,) did, by King Charles the Second's order, distribute 600*l.* per annum, to the Presbyterian ministers in the North of Ireland, towards their subsistence, under the notion of secret service." (See *supra*, pp. 468-470.)

" In consideration whereof, and of their early espousing King William's interest in this Revolution, he has out of his royal bounty given them a grant of 1200*l.* per annum."

There follows immediately in another hand-writing, " The inscription composed by Mr. Jos. Boyse, to be set upon the pedestal of the noble statue of King William on horseback, cast in brass." It thus commences :—

" Gulielmo iii. Augusto Religionis Reformatæ et Libertatis pristinæ, in Britanniâ ruentium, in Hiberniâ deploratarum, Potenti Statori et Vindici." *Ayscough*, 4275-39, 40.—Ed.

and printed by Mr. Choppin, his colleague and fellow-labourer.*

December 4, Frederick, Prince of Wales, came from Hanover, through Holland, to St. James's, on a sudden, and with the utmost privacy, to our great surprise. Seven of us Dissenting Ministers, chosen by the Committee of the three denominations, waited on the Prince. I, at their desire, made a speech to him in their name.†

* See *supra*, p. 429, *note*.—Ed.

† In the words following:—

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"As none were more thankful to Almighty God than the Protestant Dissenters for the succession of the August House of Brunswick to the British throne, in the person of your royal grandfather, so are we universally, both by principle, inclination, and interest, led to take part in whatsoever tends to the strength, security, and comfort, of the royal family, under which Divine Providence has so mercifully fixed us.

"Most affectionately therefore do we congratulate your Royal Highness' safe arrival in Britain, which we hope you will henceforward regard as your native country.

"It heightens our joy upon this occasion, to think of the unspeakable pleasure it cannot but give to our most gracious King and Queen, to see the great object of their united affection, after fifteen years' separation, so remarkably improved in those noble endowments and dispositions, that promise to make the rising generation happy. The report of these at a distance hath often given their loyal subjects, as truly as their Majesties themselves, a most pleasing entertainment; but we must own we should be very ungrateful, were we not in the most tender manner affected with his Majesty's great goodness, in so agreeably surprising

His Royal Highness, upon my mentioning the name of Prince Henry, seemed elevated, and immediately told us, when I had concluded my speech, that he could not but take kindly the affectionate respect we expressed to his father and his family; that he was fully convinced the English were a brave people, and that he had for some time longed to be with us, and should endeavour to answer our expectations.

us, even before we were aware, into the yet greater comfort and satisfaction of a nearer view.

"We cannot, Sir, but look upon this as one instance, among innumerable others, of your royal father's acting as the common parent of all his people.

"For the invaluable blessings of his auspicious reign, do we offer up our incessant praises to the King of Kings, heartily praying they may be long continued. It is on his wise and steady conduct that we (under the great God) depend for the lasting enjoyment of our present felicity. Imitating him, your Royal Highness will be still making farther improvements in the exquisite skill, (so peculiar to the illustrious stock you come of) of growing more and more the delight of mankind; of which we hope such as live long after us will have the benefit and comfort.

"Our sincerest prayers will not be wanting to him that has all things at his disposal, that your Royal Highness may be a signal ornament to your illustrious house, a refuge to the distressed, a patron to all the reformed churches, a lasting blessing to this kingdom, and as universally beloved as Prince Henry.

"May you thus reach all the grandeur and glory after which your great soul can inspire, in the way to the much nobler blessings of that eternal world, in which time and all the concerns of it will at last be swallowed up."—C.

The persons attending, were Dr. Evans, Dr. Harris, and myself, for those of the Presbyterian denomination; Mr. Thomas Bradbury, and Mr. Jennings, for the Congregational brethren; and Dr. Kinch, (who did not live long after it,) and Mr. Richardson, for the Baptists.

December 22, died Dr. White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough.* His life was soon after published. He was but ill-treated in several instances, by the nonjurors and enemies of the Revolution and Protestant succession, yet, upon occasion, he appeared warm enough for the Church and her interests.

A little before his death, he published "An Historical Register and Chronicle of English Affairs, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, containing matters of fact, delivered in the words of the most authentic books, papers, and records, &c., relating to the History of England from the Restoration of King Charles the Second." This is a singular work, very heavy and tedious, in which the same things are oft repeated, and in many instances three times over. It may, I conceive, in some cases have its uses; but it has so little of order or method, is so confused, and has so many things in it that deserve no regard, that I believe few have had the patience to read it over.

* See his honourable singularity, (*supra*, p. 451, *note*) when his Episcopal brethren would have established a Protestant inquisition.—Ed.

The author has thought it worth his while to take particular notice in this work of my "Abridgment and Account of the Ejected Ministers.*

1729. Feb. A Committee of the House of Commons† inquired with strictness and diligence into the flagrant abuses that had long been practised in our public gaols, and made very affecting discoveries of great exorbitancies, and most abominable cruelties

* See *Appendix*, No. 6.—Ed.

† "At the head of which was Mr. Oglethorpe, afterwards the general, and the colonizer of Georgia, who died in England, 1786, aged 103. "The gaol committee, 1729," and the subjects of their investigation, imprisoned debtors, (there was, probably, no compassion for criminals,) were thus described by Thomson, in *Winter*, l. 359, &c.

"And here can I forget the generous band,
Who, touched with human woe, redressive searched
Into the horrors of the gloomy gaol?
Unpitied and unheard, where misery moans;
Where sickness pines, where thirst and hunger burn,
And poor misfortune feels the lash of vice.
While in the land of liberty, the land
Whose every street, and public meeting glow
With open freedom, little tyrants raged;
Snatched the lean morsel from the starving mouth;
Tore from cold wintry limbs the tattered weed;
Even robbed them of the last of comforts, sleep;
The free-born Briton to the dungeon chained,
Or, as the lust of cruelty prevailed,
At pleasure marked him with inglorious stripes;
And crushed out lives, by secret barbarous ways,
That for their country would have toiled or bled."—Ed.

and barbarities,* which occasioned the enacting of laws in order to the preventing like practices for the future.†

May 17. The King went for Holland, and so to Hanover, leaving the Queen regent in his absence.

I, this summer, took a journey to Scarborough, to drink the waters there, and was absent ten weeks.

* Mr. Oglethorpe "having a friend in the Fleet-prison, an ingenious architect, whom he used to visit there, and being informed that the hardships he suffered had been the occasion of his death, moved that a committee be appointed to examine the gaols.

"They visited the Fleet Prison, and examined the prisoners, and, among the rest, Sir William Rich, whom they found loaded with heavy irons, by the warden, Mr. Bambridge, which they ordered to be taken off. The committee were no sooner withdrawn, than Bambridge ordered Sir William to be put in irons, in which condition they found him the next day."

It was afterwards "Resolved, *nem. con.* that Bambridge hath wilfully permitted debtors to escape," and others, who probably could not purchase favour, "he hath loaded with irons, put into dungeons, and destroyed." Bambridge and his accomplices, and the keepers of the Marshalsea, were displaced and prosecuted.—*Chron. Hist.* ii. 208, 210, 215.—Ed.

† Yet the poet sang, and, if gifted with a Nestor's age, had perhaps sang a century later:

"Much still untouched remains; in this rank age,
Much is the patriot's weeding hand required.
The toils of law, (what dark insidious men
Have, cumbrous, added to perplex the truth,
And lengthen simple justice into trade,)
How glorious were the day that saw these broke,
And every man within the reach of right."—Ed.

September 4, N. S., the Queen of France was delivered of a Dauphin, at which the body of that nation was so much transported, that they could hardly contain themselves.*

September 11. Our King returned from abroad to Kensington, having landed, that very morning, from Holland, at Margate.

December 11. Waiting on Arthur Onslow, Esquire,† Speaker to the Commons, he was pleased to suffer me to peruse, and afterwards to transcribe, a marginal note, written with his own hand in the first volume of my Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, where the subject I was treating, was King

* It is probably to this period the anecdote belongs, of a famous dentist at Paris, who drew teeth *gratis*, in honour of the infant Dauphin.—Ed.

† Who appears to have maintained a courteous and friendly intercourse with Nonconformists. Of this, Dr. Gibbons has given the following very agreeable instance.

"Not long before the death of Dr. Watts (1748), taking with him Dr. Earle and Dr. Stennet, in his coach, he made a visit to Stoke-Newington, for the purpose of gratifying himself with the sight of so great and good a man, whom he held in the highest esteem, and, I might truly say, above the common rank of mortals.

"The Speaker declared to me, that, when he saw him, he thought he saw a man of God, and in the last visit but one I made Mr. Onslow, for I had the honour of an intimacy with him, he mentioned the affair afresh, and devoutly cried out, 'my soul where his soul now is!'" See "Mem. of Watts," (1780) p. 311.—Ed.

Charles's celebrated Declaration for Ecclesiastical affairs, which bore date, October the 25th, 1660.*

There died this year, January 21, Mr. Joseph Hill, one of those ordained at the same time that I was.† He was formerly minister of the English

* I had said, (pp. 152–154) that the "Concessions" therein made "were so highly pleasing, that an Address of Thanks was drawn up and signed by many of the ministers in and about London," &c.

The marginal note was in the words following:

"Both Houses of Parliament did also severally present to the King, an Address of Thanks for this Declaration: and, in the House of Commons, November 6th, 1660, a Committee was appointed to bring in a Bill to make the Declaration effectual, and the person first named of the Committee was Serjeant Hale, who was therefore very probably the first mover for this Bill. And as he was the next day, (I think it was so soon) made Chief Baron, it is not unlikely but he was desirous to leave the House of Commons with this mark of his moderation, as to the religious differences of that time, and what he thought would be the proper means to heal them.

"But his endeavours did not succeed; for on the twenty-eighth of November following, the Bill being read the first time, and a question put that the Bill be read a second time, it passed in the negative. The Yeas, 157; the Noes, 183. The tellers for the Yeas were Sir Anthony Irby, and Sir George Booth: for the Noes, Sir Solomon Swale, and Mr. Palmer."

Sir Solomon Swale was afterwards discharged from being a Member of the House of Commons, for being a Popish recusant convict. I here insert this for the use of posterity.—C.

See "Parl. Hist." (1763) xxiii. 26–31. On Sir George Booth, afterwards Lord Delamere. See "Diary of Burton," iii. 293–295, *note*.—Ed.

† See Vol. i. p. 348.—Ed.

Church, at Rotterdam, where he was much respected. In London, he succeeded Mr. Cunningham, in the pastoral care of that congregation which belonged to Mr. Richard Stretton, and worshipped God, at Haberdashers' Hall, which he left in a very declining state. He was succeeded there by young Mr. Ford.

May 17, Dr. Samuel Clarke,* rector of St. James's, Westminster.†

* See *supra*, pp. 259. 280–282.—Ed.

† See the "Account of Dr. Clarke's Life, Writings, and Character," prefixed to two volumes of his Sermons, by Bishop Hoadley, of Sarum, which represents him as "a subtle metaphysician, an excellent mathematician, an acute philosopher, and a deep divine; and one that never failed to exhaust the subject he handled."

This account did not at all please poor Mr. Whiston, who reflected on it with some warmth, in a tract entitled, "Historical Memoirs of Dr. Samuel Clarke, being a supplement to Dr. Sykes's and Bishop Hoadley's Accounts." Mr. Whiston here flies at all, and inveighs against the great coldness of Dr. Clarke, and the perfect indifference of the Lord Chancellor King, (p. 41) the non-residence of Bishop Hoadley, (p. 85) and every thing indeed, that was not exactly according to his model. —C.

Yet Dr. Calamy, on sober reflection, could hardly have compared, but to their disadvantage, Clarke and Hoadley with the proverbially honest Whiston; who, indeed, complains that "though Sir Peter King, Dr. Hare, Mr. Benjamin Hoadley and Dr. Clarke were particularly invited, to his Society for Promoting Primitive Christianity in 1715, 16, 17, none of them ever came. However," he adds, "Sir Peter King, as well as Dr. Clarke, were by me consulted upon particular occasions, or

September 7. Dr. John Cumming, minister of the Scots' Church, at Founders' Hall, Lothbury. He

particular difficulties occurring in our examination." See "Hist. Mem." Ed. 3, (1748) p. 67.

This society, which met at Whiston's house, was "composed, commonly, of about ten or twelve honest, and some of them learned men, of several persuasions in Christianity; and to which Christians of all persuasions were equally admitted." The "Chairmen were," in succession, "Dr. John Gale, Mr. Arthur Onslow," (see *supra*, p. 521,) and "Mr. Thomas Emlyn." Whiston "officiated as Secretary." *Ibid.* pp. 66, 67. 73, 74.

As to "the non-residence of Bishop Hoadley," the mature thoughts of Dr. Calamy could not differ materially from the following sentiments in the passage to which he has referred, if indeed, they were not "exactly according to his model." Whiston introduces the serious expostulation with his friend Hoadley, by alluding to some defences of Christianity, which had lately issued from the Episcopal bench.

"Till our bishops correct their non-residence, leave the Court, the Parliament, and their politics, and go down to their several Dioceses, and there labour in the vineyard of Christ, instead of standing for the most part of the day idle at the metropolis, they may write what learned *Vindications* and *Pastoral Letters* they please, the observing unbelievers will not be satisfied they are in earnest, and by consequence will be little moved by all their arguments and exhortations.

"And here I cannot but wonder how Bishop Hoadley can himself so distinctly take notice, to the honour of Dr. Clarke, that he was almost constantly resident upon his cure, without the bitterest reflections upon his own different conduct. Since every body acquainted with him knows, that since he has been Bishop of Hereford and Salisbury, he has not only, like some other Bishops, been much the greatest part of his time at London; but that during the six years time he was Bishop of Ban-

left a wife, and several children, in very destitute circumstances, but God raised them up many friends. His funeral sermon was preached by Jabez Earle, D.D.

November 8. Dr. Joshua Oldfield, of whom I have given several hints before. His funeral sermon was preached and printed by William Harris, D.D.: Dr. Hughes, for some time his co-pastor, was fixed sole pastor of his congregation.

This year Mr. Woolston made a great noise, by his scurrilous reflections on the miracles of our blessed Saviour. He was legally prosecuted for his writings,* yet it was the opinion of many that that method of dealing with him might as well have been waved, considering that he had been reckoned many

gor, and passed through the entire Bangorian controversy, he went beyond the example of other Bishops, and never once set his foot within the diocese of Bangor." *Ibid.* pp. 108, 109.

The late Bishop Porteus was remarkable for holding, while in the See of Chester, a variety of preferments, peculiarly incompatible with a general personal superintendence; among the rest a living in Kent. Yet when Bishop of London, and his ecclesiastical emoluments were, of course, concentrated, his first charge denounced, on the most solemn and awful cousiderations, non-residence, or a clergyman's "trusting to another for the discharge of duties which belong solely and entirely to himself." See "Monthly Repos." (1810) iv. 535, 536.—Ed.

* Sentenced "Nov. 28, 1729," to a fine of "100*l.*, one year's imprisonment; security for good behaviour during life, himself in 2000*l.* and two sureties, in 1000*l.* each." *Chron. Hist.* ii. 218.—Ed.

years to be out of his mind, by such as knew him best.*

There was also this year published a tract, entitled, "Monuments of Mercy; or, some of the distinguishing favours of Christ to his congregational Church at Rowel, as handed down in the ministry of Mr. John Beverley, Mr. Thomas Browning, and Mr. Richard Davis, with a just vindication of his memory" from the false aspersions I am said to have cast thereupon, in the continuation of my account of the ejected ministers.†

1730, January 1. Died, Lord Nottingham, at his

* Dr. Lardner, after publishing an able "Vindication," against Woolston, as ably exposed the anti-christian principle and spirit of this prosecution, without availing himself of any doubts as to the author's sanity.

"A true Christian," he happily remarks, "may suffer on account of his religion, but he can never make others suffer on account of theirs. Our blessed Saviour, rather than make use of compulsion, would choose (*John* vi. 67) to be without a follower."

I here quote the correspondence between Lardner and Bishop Waddington, on which Dr. Kippis says: "it will now be little doubted, on what side lay the advantage of the argument." See "Life of Lardner," (1788) pp. xviii. xix. cxv–cxxiii.—Ed.

† Soon after this came from the press, I was applied to by one of the chief of our brethren in those parts, in the name of the rest, in these words:—"This writer discovers a bad spirit, and hath treated you in a very indecent manner. We beg you would take no notice of him. His design seems to be to make a disturbance among us, which we apprehend will be prevented by neglecting him." I took the advice.—C.

seat of Burley-on-the-hill in Rutland, and was succeeded in his honour and estate by the Lord Finch. Lord Nottingham was no friend to the Dissenters, but watched all advantages against them, and diligently improved them,* from his first appearance at Court, till the time of his death; yet he outwardly carried it civilly to many of them. He published an answer to Whiston,† which had nine impressions in 1721. And he had the thanks of the whole body of the clergy of the Established Church for it, transmitted to him from the several visitations through the kingdom.‡

* See *supra*, p. 243.—Ed.

† "Concerning the eternity of the Son of God, and of the Holy Ghost." In a letter to Archbishop Wake, 1712, Whiston says,

"My Lord Nottingham's answer is no ill one for an English temporal peer, and shows that his Lordship has been very much and very religiously conversant in his Bible, and in several good commentators of the Church of England, qualifications so very uncommon, and so very valuable, especially at this time in an English temporal peer, that his Lordship justly deserves very great commendations on these accounts."—*Mem.* pp. 223.—Ed.

‡ "How honourable soever it be," adds Whiston, "for an English peer among the laity to be able to write such an answer, I venture to say it is not at all honourable for those learned bodies of the clergy to have so solemnly celebrated that answer, as if it were a really learned and considerable performance, and likely to contribute to the determination of the controversy.

"What is then the meaning of all these learned thanks, and this learned noise from the clergy. I believe the thinking part of mankind observe, that to the answer there is a postscript, wherein my Lord Nottingham, an eminent peer of Great Britain,

January 13. The King met his two Houses of Parliament, and in his speech intimated his "great satisfaction to acquaint them with our being extricated from the many difficulties and inconveniences that attended the uncertain state of affairs in Europe, by having concluded an absolute peace with the crown of Spain." Yet, in the course of the session, there appeared a great deal of uneasiness remaining.

May 23. Dr. John Evans died of a dropsy, aged fifty. His funeral sermon was preached by Dr. William Harris,* Mr. James Read, that had for some

has openly declared for Church power and for persecution; and that *hinc illæ laudes! hinc gratiæ!—Ibid*, pp. 223, 224.

In this "Postscript," Lord Nottingham had indeed discovered, as Jortin says, on another occasion, "the courage of a combatant who calls upon the constable to come and help him." Thus disputing Whiston's "demand for an open toleration," he appeals to "the laws of the land," and regards "an indulgence" to his antagonist's opinions, as "in some measure establishing these iniquities by a law."—*Answer*, (1721) pp. 157, 159.

"The University of Oxford, in full convocation," says Lord Orford, "returned his Lordship 'solemn thanks for his most noble defence of the Christian Faith,' &c. Mr. Whiston published a reply, which ended the controversy."—See "Royal and Noble Authors," (1759) ii. 125.—Ed.

* Who describes Dr. Evans's father as ejected in 1662 from Oswestry. "His mother was the daughter of Colonel Gerard, Governor of Chester Castle. His first settlement was in the family of Mrs. Hunt, sister of Lord Paget, Ambassador to the Ottoman Port." She resided in Shropshire.

"In this retirement he read over, entire, 'Poole's Latin Synopsis,' in 5 vols. folio, which laid the foundation of his great skill

time been his assistant, was chosen pastor in his room. Mr. Smith, of Hackney,* was chosen co-pastor with him, but could not be prevailed with to accept the choice, whereupon Mr. Allen was chosen, who came from Gloucestershire. He was succeeded in the Tuesday lecture at Salter's Hall, by Dr. Jabez Earle. His death was a great loss to the Dissenters on many accounts; and the more lamented, because, till a very little before he was just going off the stage, he appeared to be of so vigorous and hale a constitution, that we were apt to promise ourselves his usefulness might have been continued for many years. He met with such losses, that he died but in mean circumstances.

This year there was a great deal of discoursing

in Scriptural criticism, and all the Christian writers of the three first centuries." He had projected "A History of Nonconformity," from the Reformation to 1640, and collected "for several years, with great industry and expense, materials from all quarters. But his constant employment as a minister, and various disappointments and troubles, greatly interrupted the work, and his death put a final period to the design."—See Toulmin's *Neal*, i. pp. xxi, xxii.—Ed.

* "Mr. George Smith officiated to the Society of the Gravel-pit Meeting, Hackney; as a preacher excelled by none, and equalled by few. He died May 1, 1746, aged 57, looked upon by his brethren as holding the first rank in merit amongst them, and not less honoured and valued by those of the Establishment who knew him."—*Ibid.* p. xxiv.

Dr. Chandler preached a funeral sermon for Mr. Smith. He was buried in the church-yard, Hackney. There is a long Latin inscription on his tomb.—Ed.

and writing about the decay of the Dissenting interest, and the occasion of it.*

This occasioned a variety of reflections. Some thought it a little strange that they that, not very long before, were ready enough to boast of their numbers and interest, and the considerableness of their body, should, on a sudden, change their note, and talk of their decays. Others thought that if there were any real decays, this way of proceeding was rather likely to increase than abate them, and at the same time give their enemies cause of triumphing; and that it was but an ill way of recommending their interest to the regard of any, for themselves to make a noise about its decays.

Many of the Church side cried out, as upon divers former occasions, let but these Dissenters alone, and they will do their own business. And among the Dissenters, many thought this method grossly imprudent, if it were true that there was a decay of the Dissenting interest, and really questioned whether there was any real decay or no, all things being

* One published "An Inquiry into the Causes of the Decay," and says, "it is owing to the Dissenters' ignorance of their own principles, and ill conduct in the management of their own interests." Another wrote "Free Thoughts on the most probable means of reviving the Dissenting Interest," which was followed some time after with "Some Observations upon the present State of the Dissenting Interest, and the case of those who have lately deserted it, &c." But before the two latter tracts came out, the author of the former fell in with the National Establishment, which in his "Inquiry" he had so much inveighed against.—C.

considered; for that, whatsoever decrease may have appeared in some places, there were sensible advances in others. But, at the same time, a real decay of serious religion, both in the Church and out of it, was very visible; therefore, the serious sermon of Mr. David Soame, of Leicestershire, on that subject, the year before, and "The humble attempt toward the revival of practical religion among Christians, particularly the Protestant Dissenters," written by Dr. Watts the year after, were very seasonable.

As to the "Brief Vindication of those who have lately Conformed," that was opposed to the "Observations upon the present state of the Dissenting interest," &c., it was very superficial, and had little in it but a severe censure upon those whom he charged with being too censorious, and repeated declarations that they that fell in with the national establishment, had done it upon full conviction, and with abundant satisfaction. But it was the general and prevailing sense of those both in the Church and out of it, that I conversed with, and took for as competent judges as any, that such a way of writing was not likely to do service either to one side or the other, or answer any valuable end. At length there came out "A Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, against the new revived Calumnies of the Dissenters," written by a layman of the established communion, and dedicated to Dr. Potter, Bishop of Oxford; but it is much fuller of heat than light.

In July, died Mr. Thomas Cotton, a person of great worth, at Hampstead, where he had, for some time, lived retiredly. His funeral sermon, which did but give him his due character, was preached and printed by Dr. Wright. This year also died Mr. Zachary Merril, of Hampstead,* who was succeeded by Mr. Partington, that came from Coventry, where he had for some time been assistant to Mr. Warren.

In August, Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, who was commonly reckoned one of the most subtle and politic princes in Europe, surprised the world with resigning his crown to his son Charles Emanuel;† the father being aged sixty-four, and the son twenty-nine: and this created great uneasiness afterward.‡

1731. After the continuation of a squabble between Sir Robert Walpole and Mr. Pultney, for several years together, in the House of Commons, fomented and heightened by Lord Bolingbroke, who inflamed the litigants, though he kept himself as far as he could out of sight; they carried on the contest from the press in a variety of pamphlets, which were filled with unaccountable passages, with which the world were generally amazed. Mr. Pultney taking the freedom to bring in some private passages in

* See *supra*, p. 465.—Ed.

† Reserving an annual "revenue of 100,000 crowns."—*Chron. Hist.* ii. 230.—Ed.

‡ "Sept. 28. The young King, under pretence of having discovered a conspiracy against his government, caused his father to be kept in close confinement."—*Ibid.* p. 248.—Ed.

which his Majesty was concerned, the King was so incensed, that he, in Council (July 1), called for the Council-book, and ordered the name of William Pultney, Esq. to be struck out of the list of Privy Counsellors: and at the same time gave orders to those concerned, that he should be put out of all commissions of the peace, lieutenancy, &c.*

October. The Cotton Library burnt.† I preached the first sermon‡ to ministers in Dr. Williams's library.

December 16, died Dr. Thomas Coulton, Dissenting Minister in the city of York.§ He was well ad-

* *Chron. Hist.* ii. 247.—Ed.

† "One hundred and eleven books were lost, burnt, or entirely defaced, and 99 rendered imperfect. In 1753, the Cottonian Library was removed to the British Museum."—*Biog. Brit.* iv. 301, 305.

The library of Bishop Moor, mentioned *supra*, p. 307, consisted, according to Mr. Noble, of 28,965 printed books, and 1790 MSS. and was purchased by the King for 6000*l*. The epigram I there quoted, as the second, has been ascribed to Trapp, or Thomas Warton. It ought to have preceded, as it called forth the other, from "Sir William Browne, the physician," which should have been given thus:—

"The King to Oxford sent his troop of horse,
For Tories own no argument but force;
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,
For Whigs allow no force but argument."

See "Biog. Hist." ii. 90, 91.—Ed.

‡ A *Concio ad Clerum*, continued for some years. A few remain in the Library.—Ed.

§ Where Dr. Calamy had visited him in 1709. See *supra*, p. 146. With reference to the anecdote, p. 156, Whiston says, not correctly, as to every circumstance:—

"Dr. Calamy

vanced in years; left one young child; and, having a good estate, left a considerable sum of money for good and charitable uses.*

"Dr. Calamy, a leading teacher among the Dissenters, travelling for his health into Scotland, came to Edinburgh, when the General Assembly was sitting, and there heard such a very nice and particular scrutiny made into the opinions and conduct of a clergyman, that came before them by appeal from some lower judicature, as showed too great an inclination to set him aside, and provoked Dr. Calamy so much, that he whispered to one that was near him, that he never knew there was an inquisition in Scotland before; which was overheard by some, who handed it about till it came to the prolocutor himself, where this freedom of censuring the acts of the Assembly was very ill taken. This I had from the Doctor's son's own mouth, and from another person then present."—*Memoirs*, p. 279.—Ed.

* This abrupt conclusion of Dr. Calamy's "Historical Account," is easily explained by the indisposition which attended his few remaining months.

Early in 1732, he had preached a sermon, (which proved to be his last,) on a subject very appropriate, though not intended for a farewell discourse. "In February he was at Bath," as I learn from the obliging communication of his family. The Rev. Daniel Mayo, who preached his funeral sermon, dedicated to Sir William Ellys, (see *supra*, p. 400,) says that Dr. Calamy's "last illness was of long continuance, attended with threatening circumstances;" adding, "he did not apprehend his death to be so near as indeed it was; however (as he told me), God had given him considerable time to prepare for death, and he trusted he was ready.

"There was a constant calmness and easiness on his mind with respect to another world, a firm faith in the Gospel method of salvation, and good hope through grace. He was ever inclined

to thankfulness, without distrust or complaint, and comforted several in distress that came to visit him.

"A few days before his death, he plainly apprehended that his end was near, and did in a particular manner pray for a blessing on his wife and children, that were about him, and then took his leave of them, and hardly ever had the use of his reason afterwards."—p. 30.

The periodical work then commencing, and which has since preserved so much information for biographical history, has only the following notice of obituary:—

"1732, June 3. Edmund Calamy, D.D. a Dissenting Minister, in Westminster."—*Gent. Mag.* ii. 826.

April 25th, this year, "John Hopkins, Esq. had died worth 300,000*l.*" bequeathing "500*l.* to be distributed by Dr. Calamy, Dr. Watts, Dr. Evans, and Dr. Wright, to poor widows of Dissenting Ministers; and 1000*l.* to poor Dissenting Ministers in the country, not exceeding 10*l.* each." There was also a bequest of "100*l.* to repair the wall of and make a gateway to the burial place of the Dissenters, near Sherborne, Dorset."—*Ibid.* pp. 725, 832.

This was the "dying Hopkins," whom Pope satirized, (*Mor. Es.* iii. 85.) and his editor nicknamed, unjustly, as I was long since assured by a friend, much more likely to be well-informed than either Pope or Warburton.

See a list of Dr. Calamy's publications; *Appendix*, No. 7.—Ed.

APPENDIX.

No. I. (*Supra*, p. 39.)

REV. J. OLLYFFE, TO REV. W. TONG.*

REVEREND AND VERY WORTHY SIR,

The peace of the Church, and unity among Christian brethren, who agree in all the substantials of Christian faith and practice, being both the duty and interest of us all, to endeavour with all our might, in proper ways and methods, to promote, I doubt not but that I shall have your excuse for giving you this second trouble, which I here offer you, with a pure and hearty design, for the attainment of the same end; that all animosities and differences between us may be brought, as much as may be, to a happy conclusion. And whereas, therefore, I come to understand, that Mr. Calamy hath prepared a letter for me, which he hath intended to print, containing, I suppose, some reflections upon the second defence, I think it may do well to propose it to him, that he should rather choose to send a copy of it in manuscript to me, which, I faithfully promise, there shall be made no ill use of to his dishonour, and which I will faithfully return to him, with such strictures and observations upon it, as I hope may tend to an accommodation of this difference between us. And this I the rather propose to Mr. Calamy, as being the advice of the late revered and judicious Mr.

* See *supra*, p. 493.—ED.

Howe, that this controversy should be no farther carried on publicly, or by printing against each other. And in order to this, it may be indeed very proper, that another advice of the same very judicious person should be pursued, which was, it seems, that some third person should take up the business between us, and should publish a letter to us both, to moderate and make up the controversy. For the doing of which, we can think of no person so fit as yourself, whose judgment and moderation we can, with so much confidence, commit the matter to. And we hope your great respect to Christian peace and union will of itself sufficiently prompt you to such a pious and Christian undertaking.

We shall only offer some few things, which, we think, it may be very fit for you to propose, to each side respectively, in such an healing letter, and which you may please to make such amplification of, and addition to, as in your judgment may seem best, to the attaining of the end aforesaid.

On our part, you may, if you please, propose, that we agree and grant to Mr. Calamy and his brethren (as we shall readily do,) that the sense of the terms of Conformity, upon which the ejected Ministers went, in their refusal to conform, according to the representation made thereof by Mr. Calamy, was very hard; and that that hard sense, in which they conceived the terms of conformity, was a just and sufficient reason to them, during their conceiving of such a sense thereof, to oblige them to refuse to conform; and that the hardships then put upon them, and the high proceedings of the imposers against them, gave them too great occasion to have those hard thoughts of conformity, and to put that hard sense upon it; and that it be owned, therefore, that they acted very conscientiously in refusal of conformity, upon those terms, in that sense given of them, which we have rejected, and declared against; and that their successors in non-conformity do so now.

And we can see no reason, but that, on the other side, you may propose to Mr. Calamy and his brethren, that they own and

grant to us, that the sense of the terms of conformity, as owned by the conformists, and as explained and set down by us, as the sense of the law, supposing it to be so, is an honest, fair, and good sense, and not intended in this controversy to be opposed by the moderate Nonconformists. And that they may well believe that the Conformists, who judge the sense of things thus declared by us to be the sense of the law, imposing the same upon us, and that do practise accordingly, do and may act very conscientiously in their conformity.

And it may be proposed, both to Mr. Calamy and us conjunctly, and to his and our brethren, that both they and we should think it highly for the glory of God, and the interest and benefit of the Church, for the putting an end to all troublesome and needless disputes about these matters, for the time to come; that such alterations and abatements should be made in the terms of conformity, as may prevent the usual and most prevailing scruples and objections of the Nonconformists that are moderate, which, what they are, is well known, from the disputes on foot, and that it is very desirable that there should be a nearer conjunction of the moderate Conformists and Nonconformists, by a comprehension. And that, in the mean time, the two parties should bear with one another, whilst they continue their different apprehensions of the sense of things; and that all love and amity should be maintained, and by all suitable ways expressed between them, as being the subscribers and owners of the same articles and doctrines, and being both opposed by the same common enemies; and that, for the future, all contention should cease between them about these matters.

These, Sir, are some of those things which we offer to your consideration, as seeming to us very fit topics to discourse upon in such an healing reconciling letter; to which I doubt not but you may add divers others, all which you may please to enlarge in your own way. My brother Mayo, in concert with whom I have writ this letter to you, giveth you his hearty service. And pray remember us both very kindly to Mr. Bisset, when you see

him; and particularly to Mr. Calamy, whom you may acquaint with as much of this, as you think fit, or, if you please, let him see the whole. And give me leave then to subscribe myself,

Sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant,

Jo. Ollyffe.

I know not how Mr. Calamy will like or approve of what is proposed, and how far he will think fit to comply therewith; but this, I assure you, will be a great satisfaction to me, that I have offered terms of peace, and that this offer hath been begun thus on our part.

For the Rev. W. Tong, to be left at Mr. Jo. Laurence's at the Angel in the Poultry, London.

No. 2. (*Supra*, p. 188.)

DIPLOMA FOR A DOCTORATE FROM EDINBURGH.

Cum honos virtutis premium sit, gloriæque stimulis ad præclara et ardua optimus quisque excitetur, æquissimum semper visum est, ut qui in liberalibus artibus multum operæ et laboris feliciter posuissent, ii maximis laudibus et summis honoribus afficerentur; quo et alii eorum exemplo ad virtutis et industriæ semitam ingrediendam accenderentur, ipsisque veræ laudis iter ingressis ad idem gnaviter persequendum animus cresceret: Nos, itaque, Universitatis Jacobi Regis Edinensis Primarius, taliquique Professores, his Literis testamur Reverendum Virum Dominum Edmundum Calamy, Evangelii apud Anglos præconem celeberrimum, famâ quæ de illius virtutibus et eruditione percrebuerat primum nobis commendatum, nunc cognitum, morum probitate et elegantiâ, interioribus in theologiâ et reconditis literis usque adeo probatum, ut dignissimum censeremus cui Doctoralis in S. S. Theologiâ deferretur, cunctaque concederentur privilegia, immunitates, et jura, quæ hic aut uspiam ad Doctoratûs apicem provectis concedi solent. Quod cum summo Senatûs Academici et facultatis Theologicæ consensu ritè et solennitur peractum esset, Inclyti Senatores Edinenses, Athenæi nostri curatores

et patroni, has Literas, chirographis nostris munitas Sigillo suo confirmari voluerunt.

GUL. CARSTAIRES, P. PR.
JO. CUMIN, SS. TH. P. REG.
GULIELMUS LAW, P. P.
JA. GREGORY, MATH. P.
JOHN GOODALL, LING. HEBR. PR.
GULIELMUS SCOTT, P. P.
ROBERTUS STUART, P. P.
COL. DRUMMOND, P. P.
CAN. DUNDAS, L. L. P.
ROBERTUS HENDERSON, B. et Acad. ab archivis.

Datum ex Ædibus nostris VI nonas Maii, Anno Æræ Christianæ M.D.CCIX.

There is no ordinary Professor of Theology signing this Diploma; the true reason of which was, because that place was at this time unhappily vacant, and had not been supplied from the time of the death of the excellent Mr. Meldrum, though it was very happily filled up, not long after, by the choice of worthy Mr. William Hamilton, who was before Minister of Cramond.

No. 3. (*Supra*, p. 202.)

DIPLOMA FOR A DOCTORATE FROM ABERDEEN.

Omnibus et singulis in quacunque Dignitate ecclesiasticâ vel civili constitutis, ad quorum notitiam præsentes hæ Literæ pervenerint, D. Georgius Middleton, SS. Th. D. et P. Primarius Collegii Legalis inclytæ Universitatis Aberdonensis, S.I.D.S.

Noveritis me, eâ auctoritate quam summi ac potentissimi hujus Regni Principes almæ huic Universitati amplissimam indulsêre, cum consensu et approbatione Doctorum et Professorum ejusdem, die infra scriptâ, reverendum ac eruditum virum præsentium latorem, D. EDMUNDUM CALAMY, verbi Divini Ministrum Westmonasterii, observatis omnibus solennitatibus, et præstitis ab eo secundum Academiæ hujus leges præstandis, SS. Theologiæ Doctorem et Magistrum constituisse, creâsse, proclamâsse, renunciâsse; ipsique potestatem fecisse docendi, legendi,

commentandi, omniaque id genus alia præstandi, quæ hic aut alibi uspiam SS. Th. Doctoribus concedi solent, omnibusque honoribus, dignitatibus, et privilegiis affecisse et ornâsse quibus affici et ornari solent, qui ad istum Dignitatis gradum ullibi terrarum legitimâ ratione conscendunt; quod ut fœlix faustumque sit Deum ter opt: max: precor.

In cujus rei testimonium et fidem, præsentes hasce literas meo et aliorum dictæ Universitatis Doctorum et Professorum chirographis confirmatas, publicoque ejusdem sigillo munitas dedi, apud dictum Collegium, Die Nono Mensis Maii, A. Æ. C. MD.CCIX.

Geo. Middleton, S.T.D. Primarius.*
J. Gordon, Juris Civilis Professor.
Pa. Urquhart, M.D.
Geo. Fraser, P.P. et Subprimarius.†
Alex. Gordon, H.L.P.
Ja. Urquhart, M.D. et P.P.
Gul. Blair, S.T.D. Rector de St. Nicholas.
Gul. Blak, P.P.
Geo. Gordon, LL. OO. PR.
H. Fraser, P.P.
Thomas Bower, M.D. et Math. P. R.

No. 4. (*Supra*, p. 212.)

DIPLOMA FOR A DOCTORATE FROM GLASGOW.

SENATUS ACADEMIÆ GLASGUENSIS, CHRISTIANO LECTORI SALUTEM.

Cum artes omnes alat honos; utilissimo sanè instituto, ii quorum in Manu fuit Res Christiana, Academias harum Rerum optimas arbitras, eâ præditas voluerunt Potestate, quâ qui liberalibus artibus, præ aliis diligentem et felicem navassent operam, eos idoneis honoribus afficerent. Ex his præcipuum, Theologia, nempe Doctoratum, quum meritissimo, tribuente inclytâ Academiâ Abredonensi, consecutus sit Vir Reverendus Edmundus Calamy, Christiani cujusdam apud Westmonasteri-

* See *supra*, p. 202.—Ed. † See *supra*, p. 203.—Ed.

enses gregis Pastor fidelissimus: Nos etiam, quibus de ejus vitæ integritate, ingenio, prudentiâ, et Sacrarum Literarum cognitione, aliis quoque certis constat indiciis, dictum V. Cl. EDMUNDUM CALAMY, ad eundem Doctoralis in S. S. Theologia Dignitatis Gradum, in hac nostra Academia admittendum censuimus: eumque pro potestate ab antiquis retro Principibus nobis concessâ, his literis, Theologiæ Doctorem declaramus et renunciamus; eumque cunctis privilegiis et immunitatibus, quæ Theologiæ Doctoribus usquam Gentium conceduntur, vel concedi solent, nobis etiam tribuentibus gaudere volumus. In quorum omnium fidem Literas hasce majore Academiæ Sigillo munitas, dabamus Glasguæ 16to Cal. Junias, Anno Æræ Christianæ millesimo septingentesimo nono.

JO. MAXWELL, RECTOR.
JO. STIRLING, VICE CANCEL. ET PRÆF. ACAD.
JA. BROWN, DECANUS FACULTATIS.
JO. SIMSON, S. S. THEOLOGIÆ PROFESSOR.
JO. LAW, PHILOSOPHIÆ PROF.
GERS. CARMICHAELL, PHIL. PROF.
JO. LOWDOUNE, PHIL. PROF.
AL. DUNLOP, GR. LINGUÆ PROF.
AND. ROSSE, H. L. P.

No. 5. (*Supra*, p. 284.)

QUERIES ON THE SCHISM BILL.

I. How Schism can be undertaken to be effectually prevented, before it is clearly determined what it is? And whether those men can justly be charged with it, who are united to the common head of the Christian Church by faith, and to all its members by a hearty love? And whether the Dissenters are not within the Church, as that is described by the nineteenth article of the "Church of England," as a Society that has "the pure Word of God preached" amongst them, "and the Sacraments duly administered, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same?"

II. How any national church, as far as it is favoured or warranted by the Holy Scriptures, which all Protestants own for

their rule, can be in any real danger from such persons as those described, or from their being left at liberty to educate their children in their own way?

III. Whether it be not a piece of wisdom to learn from our enemies? And when even in the Romish Communion, notwithstanding their high pretensions to unity and uniformity, there is yet a great diversity admitted amongst their religious orders, why should not Protestants enlarge and strengthen themselves, by inclosing all they can, in a way of forbearance; especially when they heartily fall in with the same civil government?

IV. Are not the French and Dutch Protestant Churches (to our great satisfaction) allowed to educate their own children,* without dishonour or damage either to the Church or State? And shall this privilege, which is freely granted to foreigners, be denied to natives, that are faithful and peaceable, merely because they are Dissenters?

V. Was not the treating such as Schismatics, in the reign of King Charles II. (to look no farther back,) very sensibly found to promote the growth of Popery? And may it not reasonably be expected, that a like cause should have a like effect?

VI. Was it not owned in the reign that succeeded, by some eminent prelates of the Church, with Archbishop Sancroft at their head, as well as by the noble Marquis of Halifax, in his "Letter to the Dissenters," (in which so many eminent persons concurred, and which all at that time applauded,) that too much rigour had been used towards persons of the same religion, for differing in smaller matters. And were not promises then freely made, of a different treatment, and a better temper for the future, from the pulpit and the press, and in all conversation?

VIII. Have not the Bishops that have been advanced to that honour since the Revolution, (who have generally been persons of the greatest eminence for their worth and moderation,) met with more respect from the Dissenters, than from many who pretended to be zealous members of their own Church? And is it a suitable return for persons of their lordships' candour, to

* See *supra*, p. 294. *note*.—Ed.

deal more hardly by us, as to our children, than their predecessors ever attempted to do, by our fathers, as to their descendants?

VIII. Could any thing be instanced in, that more tenderly affected the Protestants in France, than denying them liberty to educate their children in their own principles?* And can that method, which has all along been represented as so severe in a Popish Prince, ever be fit to be countenanced by Protestant Bishops, in a Protestant country?

IX. Should Popery once more prevail among us, (which some who are ornaments to the bench of Bishops have owned to be no very remote supposition,) would it not be a most grating reflection, in case the legislators should demand the education of the children of all Protestants, to hear them insinuate, that their lordships had set them the pattern, by demanding the education of the children of Dissenters?

X. Is it a thing that can reasonably be expected, that they should ever have the courage to endure the fiery trial, (which is what, according to the supposition foregoing, they may be called to,) who, by any political considerations, should be kept from sheltering the innocent? And, upon the supposition that any members of their own Church should threaten them, if they acted according to the principles by which they obtained their preferments, would it not be more becoming to inform them better, and yield more comfort to set them an example of steadiness, than to harden and embolden them, by yielding to them in a method of treating brethren, that is neither scriptural nor rational?

XI. Is it a seemly thing for guides of the Church, to pass such a censure upon the Assembly's Catechism, as if it were not fit to be taught, when there is nothing to be found in it, but what agrees with the doctrine, and nothing that is opposite to the government, of their own Church? And how can it be reconciled with the veracity and honour of their lordships, to

* See Long Parliament, *supra*, p. 294, *note*.—Ed.

allow no other Catechism than that which cannot be answered to with truth by the children of Dissenters, who had no god-fathers or god-mothers to give them their names, or promise for them when they were baptized?

XII. Have not the Ecclesiastical Courts from the first Reformation been owned a great grievance by the best prelates and members of the Church of England? Nay, have they not, upon occasion, been freely inveighed against by some, who at present sit on the Bishops' bench?* And is there any such evidence of their amendment, as can justify their now concurring to support and encourage them?

And lastly, will not the passing such a Bill into a law be more likely to spread animosity, increase uncharitableness, and perpetuate division, than prevent the growth of schism? And is not this as evident, as that the publicly branding a body of men will inflame the populace against them? And has not severity, on the other hand, a natural tendency to exasperate the sufferers?

My Lords the Bishops are earnestly desired to take these things into their serious consideration, by several of the descendants of those very Presbyterians, who earnestly (though in vain) implored the compassion of their predecessors in 1661; and by many that have joined with them in waiting for the fulfilling their promises in 1687, and 1688: and who most heartily beseech Almighty God, they may never fall into the same extremities, or worse, by having our common hopes, which depend upon the Protestant succession in the illustrious House of Hanover, defeated, according to some men's desires and wishes, which we pray may never take effect.

* Warburton, not yet seated "on the Bishops' bench," (where, I believe, he never agitated the question of ecclesiastical reform,) thus writes from "Prior Park, Aug. 31, 1755," to his friend Hurd.

"Could any thing be more absurd than that, when the yoke of Rome was thrown off, they should govern the new church, erected in opposition to it, by the laws of the old. The pretence was, that this was only by way of *interim*, till a body of ecclesiastical laws could be formed. But, whoever considers that the Canon Laws proceeded from, and had perpetual reference

No. 6. (*supra*, *p.* 519.)

ON BISHOP KENNETT'S HISTORICAL REGISTER.

This writer makes a variety of remarks upon what I had published, about the ejected and silenced ministers, and represents it as "proper to rehearse some matters of fact, that duly attended to may help to alleviate those complaints of their industrious advocate, and show the great moderation and tenderness of our governors, civil and ecclesiastical."*

I. "The ministers, who by not conforming made themselves incapable of holding their livings, had, after their deprivation, many great friends and benefactors among the nobility, on whose countenance and protection they seem to have depended, in their declining to conform." Of this he cites a number of instances from my "Account," and "Continuation."†

Though some few of them received kindness, in their straits, from some noble persons and families, yet was this entirely owing to divine Providence, without giving any proof of "the great moderation and tenderness" of the government. Nor is there any thing like evidence, that one in a hundred of those that were ejected and silenced for their nonconformity, in the least "depended" on "the nobility, in their declining to conform." This is an invidious insinuation.

to an absolute spiritual monarch, and were formed upon the genius and did acknowledge the authority of the Civil Laws, the issue of civil despotism: I say, whoever considers this, will be inclined to think that the Crown contrived this *interim*, from the use the Canon Law was of, to the extension of the prerogative.

"However, it is certain that the succeeding monarchs, Elizabeth, James, Charles, prevented our ever having a body of new ecclesiastical laws, from a sense of this utility in the old ones; and a consciousness, if ever they should submit a body of new laws to the Legislature, the Parliament would form them, altogether, upon the genius of a free church and state. This I take to be the true solution of this mysterious affair, that wears a face of so much absurdity and scandalous neglect." See "Letters from a late eminent Prelate to one of his friends," (1809) pp. 192, 193.—Ed.

* *Hist. Reg.* p. 838.—C. † *Ibid.* pp. 839, 891.—C.

II. " Besides the prime nobility, there were many of the chief gentry, who were ready to favour and support the nonconforming ministers." My writings are again cited for instances.*

It must be owned, God did incline the hearts of a number of the gentry in several parts, to have compassion upon these sufferers, under their hardships; a great comfort to such as shared in it, and they were thankful to God and them for it. But it should not be forgotten that, as it was but a small part, comparatively, of these numerous sufferers that had, this way, any considerable benefit, so were there no thanks owing either to the governors in church or state, or to the body of the clergy, who rather discountenanced than favoured any thing of this kind.

III. " They received great kindness and bounty from ladies of quality, and other honourable women." For this also my writings are cited.†

Had not they and their needy families been this way relieved and supplied, several of them would have been in no small danger of starving, which would not have been at all for the credit of the zealots for uniformity.

IV. " There was a great regard paid to the ejected and silenced ministers, by the patrons of those churches which their nonconformity left vacant. Some patrons forbore to present a new clerk, till they had tried all means to persuade the former incumbents to conform, and accept a new presentation. Some invited their late ministers, who had made themselves incapable of public service, to live with them in their private families as chaplains, or tutors, or stewards, in greater ease and sufficient plenty. Others left to them the nomination of their successors, by which they had opportunity of putting in their sons or kinsmen, or treating with strangers for some allowance, or other consideration to be made to them.

" Herein the greatest credit may be given to the report of their own friend and advocate." My " Account," and " Continuation" are freely cited for proof. It is added, that " many

* *Hist. Reg.* pp. 891, 892.—C. † *Ibid.* p. 893.—C.

other instances might be given, especially of those patrons who were themselves of a dissenting inclination, and had encouraged their clerks to be the more averse to such conformity."*

For my part, I must declare, that I am not in the least aware, that any thing I have said upon this head deserves any greater credit than the rest of my report, which is according to the best information I could get, upon inquiry. Nor can I judge of the "other instances" referred to, (which are said to have been "many") unless they had been mentioned. After all, though these were instances of a kind providence, and to be valued by those that received them, as singular favours, yet I cannot perceive that they can justly be said to carry in them any proof of "the great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected," the end for which they are said to be produced.

V. "Not only the patrons, but some of the conforming successors in those vacated livings, were very kind and friendly to their ejected predecessors." For proof of this also my writings are referred to.†

Without diminishing or lessening what there was of that kind, it were to have been wished, there had been a great deal more. Yet it had been a better evidence by far of the "great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected," which this writer so much applauds, had there been that allowance made to them that needed it, out of the income of the livings from which they were ejected, which he declares elsewhere was so strenuously moved for, but could not be carried. Some such general allowance might the rather have been expected, because of the allowance of Fifths by Act of Parliament‡ in those foregoing times, so much complained of.

* *Hist. Reg.* pp. 894, 896.—C. † *Ibid.* pp. 896, 897.—C.

‡ "1654 *Cap.* 45; in case the minister ejected hath no other temporal estate, sufficient to maintain his wife and children, if he have any; the Commissioners shall allow unto the wife and children, a proportion not exceeding the fifth part." The same allowance was ordered "1656, *Cap.* 29,"

VI. "Many others of the clergy, disabled by not complying with the Act of Uniformity, were taken as chaplains into good families, and lived there in peace and comfort." Here, also, I am referred to for instances.*

This, let the most be made of it that can be, went but a very little way in supporting the ejected, under their hardships and sufferings. Though they that, this way, had relief, were thankful to their benefactors; and their brethren ejected with them, rejoiced in their mercy; yet was it visible to the world, that many of those that succeeded in the livings of the sufferers, beheld the "peace and comfort" which some of them this way reached, with an evil eye, and grudged them their repose.

VII. "Several others of the deprived or silenced ministers were well provided for as chaplains in our English factories abroad." And I am referred to for proof.†

Instances of this kind were but few; and he that referred to them, might also (had he thought good) have referred to me for instances of the opposition given by great men both in church and state, to the ejected ministers that attempted a settlement in several of our factories abroad. So that, upon this head, it is hard to find proof of "the great moderation of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected," as much as is boasted of.

VIII. "Many others of the ejected or silenced ministers, were allowed to officiate as chaplains in hospitals, and prisons, and chapels of ease, and other places exempt from ordinary jurisdiction." For which I am referred to for proof.‡

Though I cannot pretend that there were no instances of this kind, yet they were not very many; nor, as I conceive, could they give any just ground of boasting of "the great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected."

only "where the ejected minister," in his own right, or the right of his wife, did not possess a "real estate of 30*l.* per annum, or a personal estate to the value of 500*l.*"—*Scobell* (1658) pp. 344, 511.—Ed.

* *Hist. Reg.* pp. 897, 899.—C. † *Ibid.* p. 900.—C.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 901.—C.

IX. "Besides this refuge and protection given to them in hospitals, prisons, and privileged places, some of the ejected and silenced ministers withdrew themselves to Scotland, Ireland, and our American plantations, where they found a kind reception and sufficient maintenance." *

For proof, my "Account" of "Mr. Charles Morton"† and "Mr. Samuel Lee"‡ is referred to. But I think, verily, no man that considers circumstances, can think this any proof of "the great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected."

X. "Many others of the Dissenting Ministers were indulged and connived at, in teaching school; in keeping boarders; in being tutors to young noblemen and gentlemen's sons; in setting up private academies."§

Though my writings are here also referred to, for instances, yet I find they were generally so far from being "indulged and connived at," in such methods of picking up a subsistence, that they were herein much opposed, and often suffered on these accounts, and that in a scandalous manner.

XI. "Not a few of the Nonconforming Ministers turned their course of life and studies to the practice of physic, and thereby lived and died in greater plenty and credit than if they had continued in their former stations."‖

About thirty-one instances of this kind are produced out of my writings. But as this went but a very little way, where the sufferers were so many, so was it, as far as it went, more owing to a kind Providence than to "the great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected."

* *Hist. Reg.* p. 902.—C.

† *Account*, pp. 144, 145. *Cont.* pp. 177—211.—Ed.

‡ *Account*, p. 36. *Cont.* pp. 53—56.—Ed.

In his "*Israel Redux*," Mr. Lee "printed a small Treatise, drawn up by Dr. Giles Fletcher, (who was agent for Queen Elizabeth in Muscovy, many years,) to show that the nation of the Tartars are the posterity of the ten tribes." *Ibid.*—Ed.

§ *Hist. Reg.* p. 903.—C.

‖ *Ibid.* pp. 905, 906.—C.

XII. "Some likewise turned lawyers, and found greater advantage by it." And running my writings over, he produces thence four instances, and then adds, "that some got a notable living by drawing bonds, bills, leases, making wills, covenant articles, and other acts and deeds of an attorney-at-law."*

What occasion he had from hence to boast, of "the great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected," I cannot imagine.

XIII. "Several who refused, or rather declined conformity, applied themselves to other secular business and employments, and found the way of thriving in them."†

He mentions some instances of this kind out of my writings. These are a better proof of the commendable diligence and industry of the parties concerned, than of "the moderation and tenderness of civil or ecclesiastical governors" towards them.

XIV. "Some of less abilities and meaner spirits, were reduced to the necessity of taking up very mean employments."‡

I am referred to for instances, without the least hint or touch by way of compassion, which I should have thought might have been very becoming upon the occasion. What proof can from hence be fetched of "the great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors?" I believe most persons will find themselves much to seek.

XV. "Some of the silenced preachers possibly returned to their original trades and occupations."§

To which it is sufficient to answer, that possibly they did not. But had this been the chief effect of the Act of Uniformity, neither our fathers, nor we after them, should have so much complained.‖

* *Hist. Reg.* pp. 906, 907.—C.

† *Ibid.* p. 907.—C.

‡ *Ibid.*—C.

§ *Ibid.* p. 908.—C.

‖ Here a learned Presbyterian divine may be thought not very "kindly affectioned" towards some who had left "their original trades and occupations," or had availed themselves of what leisure these would allow to become Christian teachers. They were, probably, as Robert Robinson (*Adv.*

XVI. "Many of the Nonconforming Ministers had good estates of their own, which might induce them the rather to refrain from Conformity while they had sufficient temporals to live upon."*

Instances are produced out of my writings. No thanks were, in such cases, due to "the moderation and tenderness of civil or ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected," which our collector professed to be here displaying.

* to *Claude*) describes some of his contemporaries, "illiterate," though not "ignorant," especially "of religion, that only science," they were expected "to teach." Dr. Calamy had, indeed, been subjected, in very early life, to an influence little assistant towards the formation of a just and candid judgment, in such cases.

The Rev. Thomas Doolittle, his instructor, "at eleven years of age," (see vol. i. pp. 105—109,) appears, though professedly a "plain presbyter," to have been truly a "priest writ large." In "an humble address" to his "reverend brethren," prefixed to his "Plain method of Catechising," now before me, this *soi-disant* "least among the brethren," thus illustrates his humility, by ridiculing and reviling, with an intermixture of learned phrase, (too indecorous for modern quotation,) Christians who had discovered a zeal to teach what they knew, without waiting for the sanction of a learned ministry.

"Consider the bold invasion of the ministerial office by barbers, drapers, farmers, tailors, shoemakers, &c." Then Paul (1 *Cor.* vii. 20,) is made to supply "a caution that the barber should not go beyond his razor, nor the draper beyond his ell, nor the tailor beyond his shears and thimble."

These Christian traders and artizans had, it seems, discovered their "presumption" by "confuting catechisms composed by assemblies of learned divines." Still worse, "the people" were "prepared to flock after them." *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.* It was indispensable to counteract this "bold invasion of the ministerial office," even by running down the invaders, so far as reproach and ridicule could effect the purpose.

There was a successor of Thomas Doolittle, in Monkwell Street, as remote in disposition, on such a subject, as in the order of time. This was Dr. Lindsay, with whom, amidst other long regretted associates, I have enjoyed the advantage of some acquaintance. He was always prepared, and ardent, to encourage, among all conditions, the cultivation of the human intellect, and had too wisely improved his own acquisitions, ever to despise the valuable, though humbler attainments of the unlearned.—Ed.

* *Hist. Reg.* pp. 908—910.—C.

XVII. "Many of those teachers who suffered by ejection or silence, did afterwards improve their circumstances by marrying women of condition and good fortunes in the world, for better help and support to them."*

Instances are produced from me. But this could never be ascribed to "the moderation or tenderness of civil or ecclesiastical governors."

XVIII. "Some of them, without visible income, lived well, upon occasional contributions, gifts, and collections, made for them and their families."†

Which was owing to the singular goodness of God, which they readily owned upon all occasions: but no thanks were due upon this account either "to civil or ecclesiastical governors."

XIX. "Many put into the number of ejected or silenced ministers were not Puritans or Presbyterians, or properly, Independents, but were truly fanatics, of such strange principles and notions, as rendered them incapable of conforming to any Established Church."‡

But the Uniformity Act makes no distinction between such, and the most worthy persons, which is so far from being a proof of "the great moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors towards the ejected," that it was manifestly a great hardship upon them.

XX. "Some of the ministers who refused obedience to the Act of Uniformity, were then, or soon after, crazy and disordered in their heads and minds,§ and so became great objects of compassion."‖

But the Act made no difference between them and others, nor made any provision for them, which is no great argument of "the moderation and tenderness of civil and ecclesiastical governors."

* *Hist. Reg.* p. 911.—C. † *Ibid.*—C. ‡ *Ibid.*—C.

§ Perhaps recollecting Dr. Cheynell. See *Account*, p. 676; *Cont.* p. 817; "Diary of Burton," i. p. xxxvii.—Ed.

‖ *Hist. Reg.* p. 912.—C.

No. 7. (*supra*, p. 535.)

Dr. CALAMY'S PUBLICATIONS.

I. Exercitationes Philosophicæ de Fictis Innatarum idearum mysteriis, Pars secunda, quam, favente Deo Opt. Max. sub præsidio M. Gerardi de Vries,* Philosophiæ Doctoris, ejusdem facultatis in illustri Academia Ultrajectina Professoris Ordinarii publicè ventilandam proponit Edmundus Calamy, Londino-Anglus, ad diem 8 Decemb. horis locoque solitis.

Trajecti ad Rhenum [Utrecht] officina Francisci Halma, Academiæ typographi, 1688.†

II. A Funeral Sermon, preached at the interment of Mr. Samuel

* See vol. i. pp. 154, 158—162.—Ed.

† This college-exercise is not mentioned by the author, in the account of his academical life at Utrecht. For the knowledge of it, I am entirely indebted to the Library of the British Museum; where it appears in a 4to volume, entitled, "Dissert. Acad. Metaphysic. Variæ."

There were thirteen parts, by as many students. The last is dated November 1692; the fourth, dated April 1689, was by the author's early associate, Joseph Kentish. (See vol. i. pp. 127, 139, 311, 312, 316, 318.)

On the back of the title-page to this *Pars secunda*, is the following complimentary dedication to the author's grandfather, (see vol. i. p. 65.) and other friends and patrons of his youth.

"Amplissimis, Dignissimis, Nobilissimisque viris, D. D. Josuæ Gearing, Sen. D.D. Jacobo Leaver, Sen.; Illi quidem Avo, Venerando, Generoso, Virtute et Gravitate, Pietate et Humanitate, admodum insigniter adornato: Huic Patruo Magno plurimum Honorando, Generoso, non minus ob varii generis Eruditionem, et omnium Virtutum in se quasi constellationem, quam ob Munia quam plurima publica summâ laude gesta ab omnibus celebrato:

"Utrisque ob innumera in me collata beneficia, ad extremum usque vitæ, summo honore et cultu prosequendis:

"Juxta Quos

"D. D. Johanni Delmee, D. D. Thomæ Carpenter; Mercatoribus in celeberrimâ Civitate Londinensi æquissimis, ejusdemque Civibus undiquaque dignissimis, prudentiâ et ingenii perspicaciâ, æquè ac negotiationibus claris, Reverendi Patris mei (dum in vivis) Amicis fidelissimis, et ob quam plurimos favores in me prorsùs non merentem collatos in æternum etiam colendis:

"Hoc munusculum, una cum gratiis quam maximis,

"humillimè offero

"omni modo devinctus

"Edmundus Calamy, Resp."—Ed.

Stevens, for some time employed in the work of the ministry in this city. 4to. London, 1694. (Vol. i. pp. 352, 353.)

III. A practical Discourse concerning vows, with a special reference to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, 8vo. 1694. Ed. 2, 12mo. 1704. (Vol. i. pp. 362, 363.)

IV. A Funeral Sermon, preached upon occasion of the decease of the eminently pious Mrs. Elizabeth Williams, late wife of the Reverend Mr. Daniel Williams; with some account of her exemplary character, 8vo. 1698. (Vol. i. pp. 405, 406.)

V. A Sermon to the Societies for Reformation of manners in London and Middlesex. 12mo. 1699. (Vol. i. pp. 410, 411.)

VI. A Discourse concerning the Rise and Antiquity of Cathedral Worship. *Anon.* 1699. (Vol. i. p. 418.)

VII. An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times. With an account of many others of those worthy Ministers, who were ejected after the Restauration of King Charles the Second; their apology for themselves, and their adherents, containing the grounds of their Nonconformity, and practice, as to stated and occasional communion with the Church of England; and a continuation of their history till the year 1691. By Edmund Calamy, *Edm. Fil. et Nepos.* 8vo. 1702. Ed. 2, 1713, "in 2 volumes."* (Vol. i. p. 442, 455—459,† 474, 475; *supra*, pp. 245, *note*, 273, 274.)

VIII. Divine Mercy Exalted; or Free Grace in all its glory. Being a Sermon on Rom. ix. 16. Preached at the Merchants' Lecture at Salters' Hall, on Tuesday, October 20, 1702, by E. Calamy. *E. F. et N.* Published at the request of many encouragers of the Lecture. 8vo. 1703. (Vol. i. pp. 477—479.)

IX. A Defence of Moderate Nonconformity, in answer to the Reflections of Mr. Ollyffe and Mr. Hoadley, on the 10th chapter of the Abridgment of the Life of the Reverend Mr. Richard Baxter.

* Vol. I. is entitled, "An Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History of his Life and Times, with an account of the Ministers, &c. who were ejected after the Restauration of King Charles II., their apology for themselves and their adherents, containing the grounds of their Nonconformity; their treatment in the reign of King Charles and King James, and after the Revolution; and the continuation of their history, to the passing of the Bill against Occasional Conformity, in 1711."

Vol. II. is "An Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were ejected or silenced after the Restoration in 1660, by, or before the Act for Uniformity. Designed for the preserving to posterity, the memory of their names, characters, writings, and sufferings."—Ed.

† See *Gen. Dict.* (1736) *note* E. *ad fin.*—Ed.

Part I.* With a Postscript, containing some remarks on a Tract of Mr. Dorrington's, entitled, "The Dissenting Ministry in Religion, censured and condemned from the Holy Scriptures." 8vo. 1703. (*supra*, pp. 20, 21.)

X. Part II. With an Introduction about the true state of the present controversy between the Church and Dissenters; and a Postscript, containing an answer to Mr. Hoadley's "Serious Admonition," and some remarks on a Letter of a nameless Author, said to be a Congregational Minister in the country. 8vo. 1704. (*supra*, pp. 29—31.)

XI. Part III. To which are added three letters: one to Mr. Ollyffe, in answer to his "Second Defence of Ministerial Conformity;"† another to Mr. Hoadley, in answer to his "Defence of the Reasonableness of Conformity;" and a third, to the author, from Mr. Rastrick, of Lynn, in Norfolk, giving an account of his Non-conformity. 8vo. 1705. (*supra*, p. 39.)

XII. A Funeral Sermon, occasioned by the sudden death of the Reverend Mr. Matthew Sylvester, preached at his meeting-house in Blackfriars. 8vo. 1708. (*supra*, p. 80.)

XIII. A Funeral Sermon, occasioned by the much lamented death of Mrs. Frances Lewis, wife of Thomas Lewis, Esq.; who departed this life on February 9, 1707-8. Preached at Westminster on the Lord's Day following. 8vo. 1708. (*supra*, p. 84.)

* "Some passages relating to re-ordination were animadverted on in 'A preservative against separation from the Church of England, wherein the unlawfulness of it is proved, and the chief objections of the Dissenters answered. Directed to his parishioners, by Solomon Pagis, Rector of Farnborow, Somerset, 1704.'" *Gen. Dict.* iv. 29. *note* F.—Ed.

† The following liberal and conciliatory passage I find quoted in 1750, from Mr. Ollyffe's "Third Defence," (1706) pp. 131, 132.

"We must needs say, after all, that we cannot but heartily wish, that our Governors would not continue to insist upon the use of, or exert their power in several of these things: but that, for the promoting of the public peace, and because of the different apprehensions that many pious and good men have thereof, they might be conceded to them.

"One would think, that external indifferent modes and signs, that might be well spared, without any detriment to the religion, worship, discipline, or government established among us, should not be of that value, as to be retained in distracting circumstances. Religion is never advanced by being embodied in externals. It, then, only becomes a *shibboleth* and distinction; which those only have a zeal for, that have least of the vital flame of true love to God or man; which is the true spirit of Christianity, and which wise and good men only value." See "Free and Candid Disquisitions, relating to the Church of England."—*Ed.* 2. pp. 289, 290.—Ed.

XIV. A Funeral Sermon, occasioned by the decease of Mr. Michael Watts, citizen and haberdasher of London. Preached at the meeting-house in Silver-street, the next Lord's Day after his interment. 8vo. 1708. (*supra*, p. 84.)

XV. A Caveat against New Prophets. In two Sermons at the Merchants' Lecture at Salters'-hall. 8vo. 1708. (*supra*, p. 99.)

XVI. An Answer to Sir Richard Bulkeley's Remarks. Single sheet 8vo. 1708. (*supra*, p. 99.)

XVII. A Sermon at the Merchants' Lecture in Salters'-hall, on December 7, 1708, upon occasion of the many late Bankrupts. 8vo. 1708. (*supra*, p. 119.)

XVIII. The Inspiration of the Holy Writings of the Old and New Testament, considered and improved. In fourteen Sermons, preached at the Merchants' Lecture at Salters'-hall. To which is added a single sermon, in vindication of the Divine Institution of the Office of the Ministry, preached at the same Lecture. 8vo. 1710. (*supra*, pp. 211, 231—236.)

XIX. Comfort and Counsel to Protestant Dissenters; with some serious queries to such as hate and cast them out; and a friendly admonition to such as desert them. In two sermons, preached, first at Westminster, and afterwards at the Merchants' Lecture in Salters'-hall. 8vo. 1712. (*supra*, pp. 258, 259.)

XX. The Prudence of the Serpent and Innocence of the Dove. A Sermon, preached at Exeter, May 6, 1713, before a numerous assembly of the Dissenting ministers of Devon and Cornwall. Published at their common request. 8vo. 1713. (*supra*, p. 264.)

XXI. Obadiah's Character; a sermon to young people. Preached in the Old Jewry. 8vo. 1713. (*supra*, p. 273.)

XXII. Queries humbly proposed to my Lords the Bishops. *Anon.* 8vo. 1714. (*supra*, p. 284, *infra*, p. 543.)

XXIII. The Seasonableness of Religious Societies. A sermon preached to the supporters of the Lecture on Lord's Day Mornings, at Little St. Helen's. 8vo. 1714. (*supra*, p. 307.)

XXIV. God's Concern for his Glory in the British Isles; and the Security of Christ's Church from the Gates of Hell. In three Sermons, at the Merchants' Lecture in Salters'-hall. 8vo. 1715. (*supra*, pp. 309, 310.)

XXV. The Principles and Practice of moderate Non-conformists, with respect to Ordination, exemplified; in a Sermon, preached at the Ordination, Jan. 19, 1717; and a Charge given to Mr. James Read, Mr. Henry Read, Mr. Richard Briscoe, Mr. George Smyth, and Mr. Samuel Chandler, after their being ordained, December 19, 1716. To which is added, a Letter to a Divine in Germany, giving a brief,

but true account of the Dissenters in England. 8vo. 1717. (*supra*, p. 364.)

XXVI. Sober-mindedness recommended; in a Sermon, preached to a Society of Catechumens in Jewin-street. 8vo. 1717. (*supra*, p. 370.)

XXVII. The Repeal of the Act against Occasional Conformity considered; in a Letter to a member of the honourable House of Commons, October 1717. (*supra*, pp. 369, 370.)

XXVIII. A Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard, upon occasion of his History of England; wherein the true principles of the Revolution are defended, the Whigs and Dissenters vindicated, several persons of distinction cleared from aspersions, and a number of historical mistakes rectified. 8vo. Ed. 2, corrected, 1718. (*supra*, pp. 395—401.)

XXIX. The Church and Dissenters compared, as to Persecution; in some remarks on Dr. Walker's attempt to recover the names and sufferings of the Clergy that were sequestered, &c. between 1640 and 1660. 8vo. 1719. (*supra*, pp. 429, 430.)

XXX. Discontented Complaints of the present times proved unreasonable; in a Sermon, preached at Rotherhithe, on the Anniversary of King George's Coronation. 8vo. 1720. (*supra*, p. 435.)

XXXI. A Charge given to Mr. Obadiah Hughes, Mr. Clerk Oldisworth, Mr. Thomas Newman, and Mr. John Smith, after their Ordination in the Old Jewry. 8vo. 1721. (*supra*, p. 437.)

XXXII. Thirteen Sermons concerning the doctrine of the Trinity. Preached at the Merchants' Lecture at Salter's-hall. Together with a vindication of that celebrated text, 1 John v. 7,* from being spuri-

* On this subject Dr. Calamy corresponded with a learned foreigner, from whose original letter I have extracted the following passages:—

"At Utrecht, 9th February, 1719.

"Sir,

"According to my promise and your request, I send you my papers upon Mr. Emlyn's Inquiry into the 1st of John v. 7, with the Inquiry itself.

"I thought I needed no more than to confirm the truth and certainty of the evidences for the text, which are produced by Dr. Mill, and to clear objections and difficulties, which the author of the Inquiry brings against them; and to show that the authorities and arguments for this text are of greater weight, to determine our judgment for its being genuine, than all the exceptions of the author are to prove it spurious.

"After all, if I have given you any satisfaction, as to the main thing, and if these few papers might be any way serviceable to the establishing of the

ous; and an explication of it, upon the supposition of its being genuine. In four Sermons, preached at the same Lecture. *An.* 1719, 1720. 8vo. 1722. (*supra*, pp. 442—450.)

XXXIII. The Ministry of the Dissenters vindicated; in an Ordination Sermon, preached at Aylesbury, in the county of Bucks. Added to Ed. 2. A Letter to the author of a pamphlet, intitled, "The Ministry of the Dissenters proved to be null and void, from Scripture and antiquity." 8vo. 1724. (*supra*, p. 476.)

XXXIV. Memoirs of the Life of the late Reverend Mr. John Howe. 8vo. 1724. (*supra*, p. 476.)

XXXV. The Word of God the Young Man's best Directory; a Sermon, preached to a Society of young men in Silver-street, on the birth-day of his Majesty King George. (*supra*, pp. 484, 485.)

XXXVI. A Charge given to Mr. William Hunt, after his Ordination at Newport Pagnel, in the county of Bucks. 8vo. 1725. (*supra*, pp. 485, 486.)

XXXVII. A Funeral Sermon for the late Reverend Mr. John Sheffield, Minister of the Gospel, in Southwark, who departed this life, January 24, 1726. *Ann. ætat.* 73. 8vo. 1726. (*supra*, p. 487.)

XXXVIII. A Funeral Sermon for the late Mr. Joseph Bennet, Minister of the Gospel, in the Old Jewry, who departed this life, February 2, 1726, *An. ætat.* 61. 8vo. 1726. (*supra*, p. 487.)

XXXIX. A continuation of the Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters, and Fellows of Colleges, and Schoolmasters, who were ejected and silenced, after the Restoration in 1660, by, or before the Act for Uniformity.* To which is added, The Church and Dis-

original authority of this text, I will be very glad of it; and I will be very much obliged to you, if you will be pleased to write me freely your judgment upon them; but I intreat you to send them to me again, after you have perused them at your leisure; and you will be so kind as join to them the Inquiry, for which, I will get another copy of the same, or some other book, to present you withal.

"All the British gentlemen here, who know you, present their services to you, namely, Mr. Henly and Mr. Man. My wife and my son do also salute you; and I conclude, in assuring you, that

"I am, sincerely, honoured Sir,

"Your most humble and most obedient servant,

"T. De la Faye."

"To Mr. Calamy, at Mr. Warner's, upon the Long Bridge, Leyden."—*Ayscough* MSS. 4275-71.

This address was, probably, for some facility of communication, as it does not appear that Dr. Calamy was now out of England.—Ed.

* The Account thus completed, by the Continuation, Dr. Campbell de-

senters, compared as to persecution, (see No. 29;) and also, some free remarks on the 28th chapter of Dr. Bennet's Essay on the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion. In two volumes 8vo. 1727. (*supra*, p. 507.)

XL. A Funeral Sermon for the late Rev. Mr. Mottershed, Minister of the Gospel, in Ratcliffe, who departed this life, October 13, 1728. *An. ætat* 63. 8vo. 1728. (*supra*, p. 512.)

XLI. Gospel Ministers, the Salt of the Earth, being a sermon, [on *Mat.* v. 13,] preached to Ministers of the three Denominations, in and about the cities of London and Westminster, in the Public Library of Dr. Daniel Williams, situated in Red Cross-street, in the parish of St. Giles Cripplegate, on October 28, 1731. By Edmund Calamy, D.D. (*supra*, p. 533.)*

scribes as "a work of prodigious industry and labour, and which is alone sufficient to transmit the author's memory with honour to posterity; as it has supplied the learned world with a noble collection of memoirs, which otherwise, in all probability, had been dissipated and lost."—*Biog. Brit.* iii. 142.

"In 1775, the Rev. Samuel Palmer published in two vols. 8vo. 'The Nonconformists' Memorial;' an abridgment, with corrections, additions, and new anecdotes, of Dr. Calamy's four volumes, concerning the ejected and silenced Ministers." *Ibid.* p. 145.

Mr. Palmer, who died in 1813, (see "Monthly Repos." xiv. 65, 73,) had published in 1802, an improved edition, in 3 vols. 8vo.—Ed.

* I have there incorrectly supposed this Sermon to have been in Latin. Four such were delivered in the spring 1732—1737, by Earle, Lowman, Burroughs, and George Smith. Six English Sermons were delivered in the autumn 1731,—1736, by Calamy, Bayes, W. Harris, Grosvenor, John Newman, and Neal. These ten discourses are in Dr. Williams's Library.—Ed.

INDEX.

Aberdeen, town of, ii. 197; Marischal College at, 198; King's College, 200.
——— Synod of, ii. 155, 199.
Abernethy, Mr. ii. 429, 437, 452, 480.
Abjuration, oath of, i. 440; ii. 1.
Abney, Sir Thomas, address transmitted by him to King William, i. 435; prediction of, ii. 245.
Aboyne, meeting of the rebels at, ii. 325.
Acherley, Mr. his Britannic Constitution, i. 452; letters of, ii. 278, 307.
Act of Security, ii. 9, 46.
——, Septennial, ii. 350.
—— of Uniformity, i. 56; ii. 80.
——— Toleration, i. 215, 259, 401; ii. 4, 27, 109, 412.
Addison, Mr. ii. 217. 297; his death, 423.
Adrian VI., Pope, particulars relative to, i. 162; government of, 261.
Africa, trading company to, i. 370.
Agricola, Julius, life of, i. 15.
Aidan, the Scottish Presbyter, ii. 148.
Aikin, Dr. opinion of, i. 11.
Aislaby, Mr. ii. 320.
Alberoni, Cardinal, ii. 392; his disappointment, 393.
Alcium, on the Trinity, ii. 445.
Aldrich, Dean, of Christchurch, i. 271, 444.
Alexis, Prince, disinherited, ii. 392.
Alexowitz, Peter, Czar of Muscovy, his death, ii. 483.
Allen, Mr. ii. 529.
Almanza, battle of, ii. 62.
Almenara, victory near, ii. 229.
Alphonsus, King of Arragon, maxim of, i. 50.
Alsop, Mr. anecdote of, i. 121, 349; resignation of, 441; his death, ii. 5; allusion to, 129.
Ambassador, French, demur of, i. 431.
——— Spanish, memorials of, i. 413, 414.
Ancients, lives written by, i. 8.
Anderson, Mr. ii. 196, 198, 514.
Andover, particulars relative to the Dissenters at, i. 303.
Anjou, Duke of, i. 420, 431.
Anne, second daughter of the Duke of York, married to George, Prince of Denmark, i. 114; her accession to the throne, 459; addresses to, 460; ii. 25, 51, 62, 85, 93, 117; her speeches to Parliament, i. 461; ii. 4, 17, 64, 242, 254, 266; her letter to the Scottish Parliament, i. 462; successes of, 463; goes in state to St. Paul's, 464; ii. 25, 50, 85, 114; entertained by the city, i. 464; her letter to the Scottish Parliament, ii. 21; insinuations against, 35; her reception of Dr. Calamy, 55; sends a licence to the convocation, 237; her indisposition, 249; her letter to the Princess Sophia of Hanover, 288; her death, 290, 293; buried in Westminster Abbey, 297.
——, Princess, (afterwards Princess Royal) ii. 449; reply of, 450.
Annesley, Dr. i. 311; meetings at his vestry, 325, 348, 349; his death, 385.
———, Francis, Esq. i. 416, 465.
Antinomianism, disputes respecting, i. 321.
Antoninus, Marcus, remarks of, i. 20.
Apostles, power and commission of, i. 247.
Appendix, ii. 537.
Archer, Mr. of Tunbridge, i. 195, 387.
Argyle, Duke of, High Commissioner, ii. 34; takes Port Mahon, 255; defeats the Earl of Marr, 330; arrives at Perth, 345; displaced from office, 357; allusion to, 421.
Arlington, Lord, particulars respecting, i. 100.
Arnold, M. relation of, i. 217.
Arran, Lord, ii. 83; elected High Steward of Westminster, 348.
Articles of the Church of England, i. 468.
Ashley, Lord, (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury,) argument of, i. 382.
Ashurst, Henry (son of Sir Wm.), i. 134, 188; ii. 477.
Assassination plot, i. 382.
Assurance, a test, i. 219.
Astrology, principles of, i. 23.

Athanasian Creed, question respecting it, ii. 337.
Athol, Duke of, his conversation with Dr. Calamy respecting Lockhart's Memoirs, i. 303.
Atterbury, Dr. tract by, i. 408; sermon of, ii. 41; chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation, 236; made Bishop of Rochester, 269; his ambitious views, 270; various allusions to, 311, 338, 348; committed to the Tower, 455; petitions the Lords, 456; his complaints, 457; takes leave of his friends, 458.
Aude, John, conviction of, ii. 75.
Augustus, Emperor, life of, i. 19.
——— King of Poland, ii. 482.
Aurora Borealis, appearance of, ii. 349, 438.
Ausburgh, league of, i. 95.
Austin, Mr. particulars relative to, ii. 205.
Authority, effects of, i. 255.
Avery, Dr. ii. 488.

Bacon, Nathaniel, on Roman invasion, i. 15.
Baden, Prince of, takes Landau, i. 464.
Baker, John, ii. 145, 229.
Ball, Mr. ii. 262.
Bambridge, conduct of, ii. 520.
Bandinel, Mr. Keeper of the Bodleian Library, i. 448.
Bangor, Bishop of, reply of, ii. 359; his dispute with the Bishop of Carlisle, 375, 376, 377.
Bank notes, discounted, i. 384.
—— of England, great demand on, ii. 92.
Bantoft, Thomas, i. 134, 139.
Baptism, ceremony of, ii. 181, 237.
Barbesieux, M. de, (son of the Marquis of Louvois,) i. 319.
Barclay, Robert, his Apology for the True Christian Divinity, ii. 83.
Barillon, M. the French Ambassador, i. 91.
Barker, Mr. ii. 305.
Barnes, Mr. will of, ii. 486.
Barrington, Lord, expelled the House of Commons, ii. 464.
Barton, Dr. ii. 229.
Bassompierre, Memoirs of, i. 32.
Bates, Dr. i. 133, 218, 345, 356, 372; his death, 418, 473; ii. 504.
Bath and Wells, Bishop of, ii. 60.
Bathurst, Dr. i. 271.
Bavaria, Electoral Prince of, his death, i. 419.
——— Elector of, his successes, ii. 18, 24.
——— Princess of, her marriage, i. 95.
Baxter, Richard, his Narrative of his own Life and Times, i. 44, 376, 442; MSS. of, 102; his work reflecting on the Church of England, 213; an eloquent preacher, 220; opposes the Antinomian notions, 322; character of, 457; collection of his Words, ii. 68; pension of, 469.
Bayes, Joshua, ordained, i. 349.
Bayle, Peter, his Historical Dictionary, i. 30; life of, 36.
Bayle's Miscellaneous Reflections, i. 24, 182.
Bayly, Mr. ii. 313.
Beard, Mr. i. 301; ii. 193.
Beaton, Cardinal, Castle of, ii. 194; his death, 195.
Bede, ii. 149.
Bedford, Dr. his "Hereditary Right of the Crown of England Asserted," ii. 510.
———, Duke of, his death, i. 424.
——— ii. 16; his death, 248.
——— Hilkiah, trial of, ii. 269; his sentence, 279.
Beecher, Sir Robert, ii. 500.
Beeston, Sir Wm. Governor of Jamaica, proclamation of, i. 413.
Belfast, conference at, ii. 429; meeting of the Presbyterian Synod at, 435, 452.
Bellamy, Mr. ii. 504.
Bellefonds, Marquis de, i. 67.
Bennet, Dr. ii. 358, 507; his death, 512.
——— Joseph, i. 349; his Confession of faith, 350; ordained, 348; his death, ii. 487.
——— Mr. of Newcastle, ii. 147, 192.
Benson, Dr. sermon of, ii. 293.
——— Mr. i. 106; ii. 38.
Bernard, Dr. Edward, Professor of Astronomy, i. 222; some account of, 280.
Berri, Duke of, ii. 114; his death, 266.
Berwick, town of, ii. 149.
Best, Mr. Minister at Utrecht, i. 144.
Bethel, Slingsby, Esq. particulars respecting, i. 179.
Beverley, John, ii. 526.
Bible, the religion of Protestants, i. 233.
—— polyglot, project of a, i. 389.
Bickley, Sir Francis, i. 133.
——— Mr. (brother to Sir Francis), i. 89.
Bill of Exclusion, debates respecting, i. 91, 111, 155.
Billingsly, Mr. ii. 273.
Billio, Robert, i. 133, 418; ii. 504.
Binks, Dr. supposed publication of, i. 397.
Birch, Dr. letter of, ii. 91.
Bishopric, opinion respecting, i. 226.
Bishoprics, filled up, i. 330.
Bishops, authority of, i. 242; succession of, 286; letter on their votes in Parliament, ii. 4; proposals for, 335.
——— Scottish, address of, i. 337.
Bisse, Mr. i. 127.

Black, Mr. ii. 208.
Blackall, Dr. Offspring (Bishop of Exeter,) i. 63; his death, 364.
Blackburn, Dr. Lancelot, ii. 364, 483.
Blackburne, Archdeacon, i. 429.
Blackheath army, i. 80.
Blackwell, Mr. ii. 200.
Blandford, Marquis of, his death, ii. 4.
Blechingdon, Mr. i. 127.
Blenheim, battle of, ii. 24.
Bochart, particulars respecting, i. 30.
Bodley, Sir Thomas, his account of his own life, i. 45.
Boerman, Mr. of Rotterdam, i. 140.
Bolingbroke, Lord, ii. 247; various allusions to, 285, 295, 320, 322, 325; falls into disgrace, 290; displaced from office, 297; goes to France, 311; impeached of high treason, 313, 532.
Bolton, Duke of, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, ii. 423.
Bonnel, James, Esq. i. 58, 63; life of, 135.
Book of Sports, i. 54.
Borfet, Samuel, i. 342.
Bothmar, Baron, presents a memorial to Queen Anne, ii. 241; allusion to, 289.
Bothwell bridge, ii. 213.
Bouillon, Duke of, i. 34.
Boulter, Dr. Archbishop of Armagh, i. 127.
Bowles, Capt. character of, i. 139.
Boyle, Mr. ii. 43.
——, Hon. Robert, his death, i. 327.
Boyne, battle of, i. 412.
Boyse, Joseph, particulars respecting, i. 107, 405; ii. 452, 472; his death, 514.
Bradband, Mr. particulars respecting, i. 302.
Bradbury, Thomas, anecdote of, ii, 301; allusions to, 360, 362, 419, 486, 518.
Bradford, Dr. Bishop of Carlisle, appointed Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester, ii. 459.
——— Mr. ii. 229.
Bradshawe, Ebenezer, ordained, i. 349.
Bragge, Robert, a dissenting minister, i. 142.
Breedon, Robert, Esq. elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex, ii. 272; his death, 472.
Brerewood, Edward, i. 479.
Brewster, Sir Francis, i. 416.
Brice, Mr. chaplain to Sir Robert Pye, i. 279.
Bridgman, Sir Orlando, i. 97.
Briscoe, Richard, ii. 364, 504.
Bristol, Dissenters at, i. 312; damage done at by a hurricane, ii. 19.
Britain, history of, i. 16.
Brittany, Duke of, his death, ii. 256.
Bromley, Mr. i. 465; ii. 10, 15, 38; chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, 231.
Brough, Robert, the linen-draper, i. 482.
Brown, Jonathan, interesting story of, ii. 119.
———, Simon, i. 348; succeeds Mr. Shower, ii. 341; his letter to the Rev. Thomas Reynolds, 459.
Browning, Thomas, ii. 526.
Buchanan, George, skull of, ii. 174.
———, Mr. his history of Scotland, i. 41.
Buckingham, Duke of, particulars respecting, i. 98; character of, 99, 425.
Bulkeley, Sir Richard, expectations of, ii. 75; allusion to, 105.
Bunney's resolution, i. 468.
Bures, Mr. ii. 473.
Burgess, Daniel, ii. 140, 228, 465.
Burgh, Mr. ii. 350, 351.
Burgundy, Duke of, i. 39; marries the Princess of Savoy, 403; ii. 114; declared Dauphin of France, 239; his death, 252.
Burigny, M. de. i. 3.
Burnet, Bishop, i. 38, 44, 91, 94, 98, 99, 103; error of, 116, 125; on William I. Prince of Orange, 149; his character of Lord Sunderland, 156; various allusions to, 200, 208, 211; objection to, 253; his character of John Hampden, 390; his discourse on religious subjects, 466; his memorial to the Princess Sophia, ii. 2; his letter to Charles II. 83; his entrance into the ministry, 177; his speech to the Lords, 225; his death, 311; his third volume of the *History* of the Reformation, 311, 333; his account of Dr. Lloyd, 383.
Burroughs, Joseph, ii. 492.
Burton, Thomas, Diary of, i. 37, 54, 78, 89, 96, 429, 436, 441; ii. 15, 287, 334, 510.
Bury, Samuel, i. 106, 318.
Busby, Dr. i. 77.
Bussius, Roger Rabutin, commentary of, i. 31.
Butler, Charles, his Historical Memorials, i. 81.
———, Mr. ii. 503.
———, Bishop, proposals of, ii. 335.
Buys, M. ii. 240.
Byfield, Nathaniel, i. 476.
Byng, Sir George, commands the fleet, ii. 85; takes the Salisbury, 88; freedom of the city of Edinburgh presented to, 92; allusions to, 314, 322.
Bysse, Rev. Edward, informations against, ii. 391.

Cadiz, preparations at, ii. 395; Spanish fleet sail from, 420.
Cadogan, Gen. ii. 315.
Cæsar, Caius Julius, commentaries of, i. 17; his first expedition to Britain, 18.
Calamy, Benjamin, (Uncle of Edmund,) i. 57; settles in London, 58; sermons of, ib.; his high character as a preacher, 59; answer to a sermon of, 60; appointed chaplain to the King, 61; his death, ib.; his intercession for Alderman Cornish, ib.; his library, 63.
——, Dr. Edmund, his partiality to the writings of eminent persons, i. 1. Epistles of Erasmus, Melancthon, and Grotius, 2; Casaubon, 3; Calvin, ib. Lives; Father Paul, 4; Morhofius, 7. Christian Fathers; St. Antony, 8; St. Hierome, 9; Sulpicius Severus, 10; St. Martin, 11; St. Hilarion, 12; Tacitus, 15; Agricola, ib.; Cæsar, 17; Augustus, 19; Tiberius, 20; Josephus, ib.; St. Gregory, ib.; St. Austin, 21; Cardan, ib.; Vanini, 23; Thuanus, 24; Æneas Sylvius, 25; Julius Scaliger, 26; Francis Junius, 27; Abraham Schultetus, 28; Huetius, 30; Bochart, ib.; Bussius, 31; Bassompierre, 32; Duke de Rohan, 33; Marshal Monthuc, 34; Montaigne, 35; Bayle, 36; Giraldus, 37; Philip de Commines, 39; Daniel, 40; Dryden, ib.; Buchanan; 41; Sir James Melvill, 42; Bishop Hall, ib.; Dr. John Forbes, 43; Bishop Parker, ib.; Baxter, 44; Burnet, ib.; Sir Thomas Bodley, 45. His observations on writing an account of his own life and times, 46; particulars relative to his family, 52; his birth, 66; his education, 72; his early inclination to become learned, 74; of a weak constitution, 75; receives instruction from Mr. Nelson, 76; sent to Mr. Yewel's at Epsom, ib.; his improvement under Mr. Tatnal, 77; visits the prisons, 88; frequents the churches, 89; illness of, ib.; placed at the academy of Mr. Doolittle, 105; present at the execution of Alderman Cornish, 121; death of his father, 126; removed to Merchant Taylor's school, ib.; kind attentions of Mr. Hartcliff towards him, 130; pursues his studies under Mr. Walton at Bethnal Green, ib.; under Mr. Cradock, at Wickham-Brook, 132; receives the Sacrament, 135; visits his grandfather, Gearing, 136; returns to London, 138; embarks for Holland, 139; arrives at Rotterdam, ib.; at Utrecht, 142; course of study pursued by, 154; makes the acquaintance of Mr. William Carstaires, 172; visits the University of Leyden, 173; unpleasant excursions to Leyden, and adventures on the way, 176; goes to Amsterdam, 178; his excursion into Friesland, 182; his observance of religious duties, 187; his indisposition, 190; returns to England, ib.; his loss, 191; his remarks on Dr. Tillotson's advice to King William, 205; visits Mr. Baxter, 220; goes to Oxford, 221; his treatment there, 224; inclines to the Dissenters, ib.; his opinion of "Chillingworth's Religion of Protestants," 227; studies Mr. Hooker's Eight Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, 235; Bishop Taylor's Ductor Dubitantium, 246; his opinions on various religious matters, 258; determines for non-conformity, 259; his conversation with Mr. Oldfield, 264; his first discourse, 267; preaches for the first time in public, 268; complimented by Mr. Thomas Gilbert, 269; officiates at several places in the neighbourhood of Oxford, 278; visited by Dr. Bernard, 280; his difference with Mr. Dodwell, respecting the Epistles of St. Ignatius, 292; his remarks on the Epistles, 297; preaches at Potterspury, 301; at Andover, 302; death of his sister, 310; his journey to Bristol, 313; returns to London, 317; his difficulties in procuring a public ordination, 340; applies to Mr. Mead, 341; his interview with Dr. Bates, 345; ceremonies of ordination, 349; funeral sermon preached by, 352; becomes assistant to Mr. Williams, in Hand Alley, 359; his auditory there, 362; his Practical Discourse concerning Vows with a Special Reference to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, 362; opinion of the work, 363; marries Mary Watts, 365; prepares for publication Mr. Baxter's Narrative of his Life and Times, 377; Confession of John Hampden in his possession, 386; preaches a funeral sermon for Mrs. Williams, 405; his sermon to the "Society for Reformation of Manners," 410; his "Discourse concerning the Rise and Antiquity of Cathedral Worship," 418; officiates for Mr. Williams, 423; publishes the first edition of his Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, 442; proceeds to Oxford, with a view of obtaining a sight of the proof sheets of Lord Clarendon's History of the Civil War, 443; succeeds after considerable difficulty, 447; his opinion of the work, 452; new edition of his Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, 455; charges brought against him by Dr.

William Nichols, 456; his character of several divines, 457; his reasons for nonconformity, 458; his discourse with Bishop Burnet on various religious subjects, 466, 472; advice of Mr. Taylor to, 474; preaches at Salter's Hall, 477; interesting narrative related to him by Mr. Story, 481; his account of the family of Mr. Mart, 491; whose son he visits in Newgate, 493; his exhortation to him, 494; curious circumstances connected with a sermon by him, 503; good effects of his ministry, 507; chosen to fill the place of Mr. Vincent Alsop, at Westminster, ii. 5; publishes the two first parts of his Defence of Moderate Nonconformity, 24, 29; sends the work to Mr. Williams, requesting his opinion thereon, 30; approval expressed of it by several eminent characters, ib.; receives an anonymous letter on the subject, 31; discovers the writer, 32; interview with him, 33; third part of his Defence of Moderate Nonconformity, 39; waits upon Lord Sunderland with an Address to the Queen, 53; his interview with the Lord Treasurer, 55; introduced to the Queen, ib.; question proposed to him, 56; his solution of it, 57; his vindication of Mr. Baxter, 68; his conversation with the Author of the Complete History of England, 70; his objections against the Camisars, 76; preaches a funeral sermon for his friend Mr. Sylvester, 80; for Mrs. Lewis and Mr. Michael Watts, 84; visits Mr. Lacy, 95; whose remarkable case he describes, 96; his "Caveat against new Prophets," 99; receives a visit from Justice Chamberlain, ib.; transmits a copy of his Caveat to her Majesty, 100; his note to Justice Chamberlain, 101; his conversation with Mr. Moult, respecting the New Prophets, 103; his opinion respecting Mr. Emms, 105; his discourse with Mr. Cunningham, 106; his conversation with Lord Chief Justice Hall respecting Mr. Lacy, 111; sermon of, 119; his interesting account of Jonathan Brown, ib.; visited by a female who requests his advice, 135; attends a person who has attempted to commit suicide, 139; his journey into the North, 144; arrives at York, 146; at Newcastle, 147; reaches Berwick, 149; difficulty in obtaining a lodging, 150; reaches Edinburgh, 152; goes to the Assembly, 152; his conversation with Mr. Wiley, 162; his discourse with Mr. Moncrief, an Episcopal Minister, 164; his interview with Mrs. Yule, and discussion on various religious topics, 167; is introduced to Sir James Stuart, 171; visits Holyrood House, 173; the College, 175; the Parliament House, 176; preaches in the New Church, 177; at Libertoun, near Edinburgh, ib.; his arrangement with Mr. Semple, 180; baptizes some children, 181; visits Sir Alexander Gilmer, 182; the Duchess of Buccleugh, 184; other distinguished persons, 185; made a free Burgess and Guild Brother of the City, ib.; entertained by the Masters of the College, 186; diploma conferred on, 187; receives a letter from his congregation in London, 191; takes leave of his friends at Edinburgh, 192; his character of Dr. Gilpin, ib.; visits Lord Hopetoun, 193; arrives at Aberdeen, 197; Discourses with Professor Osborn on the proceedings of the Assembly, 199; degree of D.D. conferred upon him, 202; determines upon returning to London, 204; his difficulties at Perth, 205; meets with Mr. Austin, 207; proceeds to Sterling, 209; to Glasgow, 210; his sermon in the New Church, ib.; entertainment given to, 212; his visit to the palace at Hamilton, 213; his treatment while in the North, 216; arrives at Carlisle, 219; Preston, 221; Manchester, 222; his return to London, 223; his sermons on "the Inspiration of the Holy Writings of the Old and New Testament," 231; dedicates them to the Queen, 232; waits on Lord Sunderland with a copy, 234; his "Comfort and Counsel to Prostestant Dissenters," 258; loses his wife, 259; his journey into the West of England, 262; his reception at Exeter, 263; preaches before the Dissenting Ministers of Devon and Cornwall, 264; proceeds to Launceston, 265; his return, 266; publishes the second edition of his Abridgment, 273; paper drawn up by, relative to Schism, 284; waits on Lord Sunderland on the subject, 287; his conversation with the Duke of Athol respecting Lockhart's Memoirs, 303; his sermon on "the Seasonableness of Religious Societies," 307; sends his son to Edinburgh, ib.; death of his mother, 309; prints three sermons, ib.; marries his second wife, Mary Jones, niece to Adam Cardonel, Esq. 346; presents an address to the Prince Regent, 361; officiates at the Ordination of Mr. John Munckley, 364; presents the Address of the Dissenters to George I. 366; his pamphlet, entitled "the Repeal of the Act against

Occasional Conformity Considered," 369; accompanies Mr. Gowan to court, 380; his conversation with Colonel Kane, 381; his letter to Archdeacon Echard, 395; answers to it, 396; his discourse with Archdeacon Echard on various subjects, 397; refuses to attend a meeting of the Dissenters at Salter's Hall, 414; his conversations on the subject with Mr. Chalmers, ib.; tract by, 429; his sermon on the anniversary of George I. 435; letter to him from the Presbyterian Synod at Belfast, 436; his charge after ordination, 437; his new meeting house, 441; publishes his "Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity," 442; dedicates them to his Majesty, 444; presents the work to him, 445; his Majesty's reply, 447; waits on the Prince of Wales, 449; receives a present of £50, 450; prints an ordination sermon, 476; his memoirs of the life of the Rev. John Howe, 476; his speech to her Majesty, 499; publishes his continuation of the account of ministers, &c. 507; his journey to Scarborough, 520; his account of the Ejected Ministers, 526; particulars attending his death, 534; list of his publications, 555.

Calamy Edmund, (father of Dr. Calamy,) particulars relative to, i. 65,

———, James, particulars respecting, i. 63; his death, 64; allusion to, ii. 265.

———, Edmund, (son of Dr. Edmund,) chosen assistant to Mr. Grosvenor, ii. 489.

———, John, (uncle of Edmund,) i. 64.

———, Edmund, (Grandfather of Edmund,) studies at Cambridge, i. 53; succeeds Dr. Stoughton, 54; his "Just and Necessary Apology against an Unjust Invective," 54; active in restoring Charles II. 55; imprisonment of, 56; sensation excited by it, ib; liberated by the interference of a lady, 57; his children, ib.

———, Mrs. (wife of Dr. Edmund,) her death, ii. 259.

Caledonia, council of, i. 414.

Calliere, M. preliminaries of peace proposed by, i. 385.

Calve's Head Club, history of, ii. 11; account of it, 12.

Calvin, character of, i. 245.

Calvinists, foreign, i. 147.

Cambray, Archbishop of, ii. 252.

Cambridge, disturbance at, ii. 353.

Cameron, Mr. i. 145.

Cameronians, particulars respecting, ii. 67; 88.

Camisars, some account of, ii. 72; warnings of, 74; objections against, 76.

Cant, Andrew, Minister of Aberdeen, ii. 198.

Canterbury, Archbishop of, his refusal, i. 195; declaration of, ii. 328.

Capel, Lady Mary, letter of, ii. 91.

Cardan, his Tract "De Vita Propria," i. 21; his death, 24.

Cardross, Lord, (afterwards Earl of Buchan,) ii. 172.

Carlisle, Bishop of, ii. 375, 376, 377.

———, city of, ii. 219.

———, Earl of, i. 462.

Carlowitz, peace concluded at, i. 408; ii. 383.

Carlton, Dr. his Life of Bernard Gilpin, i. 261.

Carnwath, Lord, impeachment against, ii. 343; pleads guilty, 345.

Carpenter, Lord, ii. 222, 327.

Carstaires, William, (afterwards chaplain to King William,) particulars respecting, i. 172; allusions to, ii. 144, 152, 157, 165, 170, 177, 179, 185; his death, 338; particulars respecting, 339.

Cartwright, Major, ii. 142; his character of King William, 172.

———, Dr. Bishop of Chester, i. 198.

Casaubon's Dedication to Henry IV. i. 3.

Case, Mr. particulars relative to, i. 108.

Casimer, John William, Prince of Friesland, i. 184.

Castalio, Sebastian, fate of i. 37.

Catechumens, society of, ii. 370.

Cavalier, Colonel, ii. 72.

Cellamare, Prince de, arrested at Paris, ii. 392.

Cevennes, wars of the, ii. 72.

Chalmers, Mr. principal of the Old College, Aberdeen, ii. 414.

Chamberlain, Justice, visits Dr. Calamy, ii. 99.

Chandler, Ebenezer, i. 109.

———, Dr. Edward, made Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, ii. 382.

———, Henry, i. 106, ii. 357, 440.

———, Samuel, ii. 364.

Chantry, Mr. i. 106.

Chaplains, treatment of, ii. 217.

Charlemagne, Emperor, ii. 445.

Charles I. design of i. 65; parliaments dissolved by, 90; letters of, 275; remarks on his execution, ii. 14; portrait of, ib.

——— of Austria, Archduke, i. 419; declared King of Spain, ii. 18.

Charles II. King of Spain, his death, i. 421.

Charles II. allusion to his restoration, i. 55; his league with Louis XIV. 69; his death, 115; declaration of, 199.
——— III. King of Brabant, ii. 50.
——— XI. King of Sweden, his death, i. 398.
——— XII. alluded to, i. 398; particulars relative to his death, ii. 393.
Charnock, execution of, i. 381.
Chateaurenaud, M. de, defeat of, i. 463.
Chauney, Dr. Isaac, i. 304, 323.
Chester, county of, address of the clergy of, i. 198.
Child, Timothy, ii. 377.
Chillingworth, Mr. his Religion of Protestants, a safe way to Salvation, i. 227; ii. 417; admirable principles of, 228; his letter to Dr. Sheldon, 234; allusion to, 253.
Chiswell, Mr. ii. 103.
Choppin, Mr. ii. 452, 516.
Christ, miracles of, i. 14; ii. 525; horoscope of, i. 22; the only law-giver, 248, ii. 371; portrait of, 14.
Christian V. King of Denmark and Norway, his death, i. 418.
Church, its authority, i. 236, 290; articles, liturgy, &c. of, 258; want of discipline in, 260; constitution of, 263; divisions in, 285, 328; its communion with the Gallican church, 331; articles of, 468; interests of the, ii. 5; said to be in danger, 38, 40; schism in, 358.
Churches, new, sum granted for building, ii. 239.
Clarendon, Lord, i. 53, 66, 98; banished, 67; petition of, 100; opinions of, 122, 261; his diary, 332, 391, 416, 424, 434; his History of the Civil War, 443; second part published, ii. 10; his hatred of the Presbyterians, i. 453.
Clarke, John, the bookseller, ii. 420.
———, Dr. Matthew, presents an address to Her Majesty, ii. 117; his Scripture doctrines of the Trinity, 259; objections against, 280; allusions to, 460, 465; his death, 488.
———, Samuel, particulars respecting, i. 106; memoirs of, 263; case of, 266; allusion to, 283.
Clarkson, David, tract by, ii. 469.
Clement XI. advanced to the Papacy, i. 425.
———, Prince of Bavaria, i. 154.
Clergymen, deprived of their livings, i. 328.
Clerk, Lord Chief Justice, ii. 67, 185.
Clifford, Mr. i. 106.
———, Lord, speech of, i. 97; particulars relative to, 101.
Clinton, Lady, ii. 502.
Cocceius, Professor of Theology, i. 157
Cockburn, Dr. i. 45, 450.
Cock Fights, ii. 265.
Coinage, state of the, i. 368.
Colbert, Monsieur, i. 66.
Cole, Thomas, academy of, i. 135, 351.
Coleman's letters, confirm the belief of a Popish plot, i. 81.
Collier, Mr. the nonjuror, i. 381.
Collins, Thomas, i. 142.
Collinson's life of Thuanus, i. 3, 24.
Colman, Dr. ii. 238.
———, Mr. of Boston, ii. 514.
———, the Scottish Presbyter, ii. 148.
Cologne and Liege, new Bishop of, i. 148.
Colomies, Paul, i. 26.
Commines, Philip de, memoirs of, i. 39, 44.
Communion, episcopal, i. 284.
Compton, Dr. Henry, Bishop of London, i. 174, 211; speech of, 214; complaint of, ii. 40; his death, 249.
———, Spencer, Esq. chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, ii. 310.
Comyng, John, ii. 514.
Conformists and Nonconformists, debates between, ii. 56.
Conformity, debates respecting, i. 464, 465; ii. 5, 15; defence of 20, 38; bill against, 26, 28, 34, 244, 344.
Coningsby, Lord, ii. 319.
Conscience, liberty of, i. 87.
Conspiracy in Scotland, ii. 17, 22, 314.
Conspirators, execution of, i. 381; taken, ii. 315.
Convocation, houses of, i. 480, ii. 359, 379.
Cook, Sir Thomas, committal of, i. 364.
Cooper, Mr. i. 88.
Corbet, Mr. i. 133.
Cornelius Nepos, i. 4.
Cornish, Alderman, i. 61; his execution, 62, 120.
———, Mr. some account of, i. 278, 300.
Cosin, Dr. Bishop of Durham, i. 196.
Cotton, Thomas, his death, ii. 532.
——— Library, burnt, ii. 533.
Coulton, Dr. of York, ii. 146; his death, 533.
Councils of the Church, i. 256.
Courayer, Father, i. 6.
Courts, civil and ecclesiastical, i. 261.
Covell, Dr. the Princess's Chaplain, i. 416.
Coventry and Litchfield, bishopric of, i. 55.
———, Secretary, ii. 71.
Coward, Dr. accusation against, i. 332.
Cowper, Lord, made Lord Chancellor, ii. 299; speech of, 347; appointed Lord High Steward, 379; his remark on the South Sea scheme, 432; arguments of, 458; his death, 474; character of, ib.

Cowper, Mr. i. 135.
Cox, Dr. Daniel, i. 89.
Cradock, Samuel, i. 132; some account of, 133.
Craggs, Mr. Secretary, ii. 431.
Cranburn, execution of, i. 382.
Crawfurd, parish of, ii. 215.
Creeds, compulsory, i. 29.
Creez, Mr. i. 313.
Crisp, Samuel, particulars respecting, i. 321.
——, Dr. Tobias, his sermons, i. 321; opinions of, 322, 394, 410.
Croissy, Colbert de, the French Ambassador, i. 69, 70.
Cromarty, Earl of, i. 21; speech of, 22; character of, 189.
Cromwell, his contract with the Devil, ii. 399.
Cross, Walter, i. 139.
Crouzas, M. de, i. 35.
Crown, right to it asserted, ii. 268.
Cumberland, Dr. Richard, Bishop of Peterborough, his death, ii. 392.
Cumin, Professor, ii. 193, 197; takes the degree of Doctor of Laws, 202.
Cummin, Patrick, of Ormistoun, ii. 161.
Cumming, Dr. of Edinburgh, ii. 153.
——, John, ii, 363; his death, 524.
Cunningham, Mr. singular discovery by means of, ii. 32; visits Dr. Calamy, 106; allusion to, 523.
——, Sir Alexander, ii. 185.
Currey, Mr. of Haddington, ii. 152, 161.

Daillé, M. i. 295.
Dalkeith, the seat of the Duchess of Buccleugh, ii. 184.
Dalrymple, Sir David, ii. 94.
——, Sir James, ii. 185.
Danby, Lord, (afterwards Duke of Leeds,) i. 80, 85.
Daniel, Mr. the historian, i. 40.
D'Aranda, Benjamin, i. 181.
——, Paul, particulars respecting, i. 181.
Darien, Isthmus of, colony near, i. 408, 413, 418, 421, 422, 423; ii. 46.
D'Aronda, Peter, i. 142.
D'Aumont, Duke, his house burnt, ii. 236; his entry into London, 268.
Dauphin, of France, marries the Princess of Bavaria, i. 95; campaign of, 153; his death, ii. 239.
D'Avaux, Count, the French Ambassador, i. 70, 352.
Davenant, Charles, i. 471; his Essays on Peace at Home and War Abroad, ii. 46.
Davis, Mr. disputes with, i. 372, 374; ii. 526.
Dawes, Mr. (afterwards, Sir William,) i. 127; his death, ii. 482.
Dawson, Mr. of Abingdon, i. 279.
De Broke, Lord Willoughby, his bill for suppressing blasphemy and profaneness, ii. 450.
De Foe, Daniel, his "Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of Dissenters," i. 465; his history of the Union, ii. 45.
De la Faye T. letter of, ii. 559.
De la Rue, discovery of, i. 370.
De la Torres, Father, King Charles's confessor, i. 420.
Delaure, imprisonment of, i. 60.
Denmark, King of, i. 425.
Derry, Presbyterian Synod in, ii. 459.
Derwentwater, Earl of, insurrection of, ii. 326; impeachment against, 343; pleads guilty, 345; beheaded, 346; character of, 347; allusion to, 358.
Descartes, principles of, i. 157.
Devil, existence of, i. 3.
Devonshire, Duke of, i. 437; reward offered by, ii. 17; his death, 78.
De Vries, M. professor of philosophy, i. 143, 154, 157, 158; lectures of, 160; his agreeable mode of instruction, 166.
D'Harcourt, Marquis, i. 420.
Diamonds, valuable present of, i. 399.
Diaper, Mr. i. 318.
Dickson, Mr. of Whitehaven, ii. 192.
Diogenes Laertius, i. 4.
Discourse of the Pastoral Care, i. 264.
Disney, Dr. i. 2.
Dispensation, new, ii. 103.
Dissenters, liberty granted to, i. 71; rigourously dealt with, 87; situation of, 201; act for the liberty of, 203; disputes among, 321; articles of religion agreed to by, 326; declaration in favour of, 336; contests among, 337, 356, 371; ii. 401. 425; union among, i. 375; their address to the King, 437; their addresses to Queen Anne, 460; ii. 25, 51, 63, 93; increase of, 10; sacramental test imposed on, 79; fall into disgrace, 244; letter to, with remarks on their condition, 274; their zeal, 284; meetings of, ib.; petition of, 286; their addresses to King George I. 299, 317, 366, 461; and II. 496; loyalty of, 329; case of, 344, 355; rights of, 394; bounty to, 465, 512; their address to the Prince of Wales, 516; decline of their interest, 530.
Dixon, Mr. ii. 220.
Doctorate, diplomas for, ii. 540, 541, 542.
Dodwell, Mr. opinion of, i. 225; on the sin of schism, 257; account of, 281; his learning, 282; hypothesis of, 283; his Separation of Churches from Episcopal Government, 284; his letter to Dr. Tillotson, 291; his controversy with Dr. Calamy, 293; allusion to, 330.

Dogs, used in hunting salmon, ii. 201.
Dolben, Mr. ii. 228.
Doolittle, Mr. particulars respecting, i. 105. 138; his death, ii. 78.
D'Orleans, Father, his History of the Revolutions in England, i. 85, 195.
Dorrington, Mr. tract by, ii. 21, 505.
Dort, Synod of, i. 29, 471, 478.
Douglas, ii. 215.
Drake, Dr. ii. 38.
Dream, remarkable, i. 148.
Drogheda, Earl of, i. 416.
Drumlanrig, the seat of the Duke of Queensbury, ii. 215.
Drummond, Poet, ii. 183.
Dryden, Mr. his opinion of historians, i. 41; lines by, 221; his death, 430.
Dublin, Archbishop of, ii. 361.
Dubois, Cardinal, ii. 370, 391, 433.
Duilier, Nicholas Facio, particulars respecting, 1. 189.
Du Maine, Duke, ii. 267.
Dumfries, town of, ii. 215.
Dummer, Mr. ii. 360.
Dundee, town of, ii. 196.
Dungannon, Synod at, ii. 476, 479, 486.
Dunkirk, sale of, i. 78.
Durell, John, i. 175.
Dutch, power of, i. 69; war with France, 432.

Earbery, Mr. i. 320.
Earle, Jabez, particulars relative to, ii. 513, 525, 529.
Earthquakes, i. 326.
East Lothian, Synod of, ii. 158.
Ecclesiastical impositions, i. 258.
——————— laws, i. 249.
Echard, Archdeacon, i. 53, 57, 61, 155, 246, 455; letter to, 395; waits on Dr. Calamy, 397.
——— Mr. i. 111.
Eclipse, remarkable, ii. 311.
Edinburgh, subscriptions at for the Scotch India Company, i. 384; equivalent money sent to, ii. 64; plot respecting, 65; French fleet arrive off, 90; assembly at, 152; refusal of the episcopal ministers of, 164; Holyrood House, 173; castle of, ib.; college of, 174; Parliament House, 176; new church at, 177; plot at, 316.
Edward, King, abuses in the reign of, i. 262.
Edwards, Dr. i. 397.
———, Thomas, his Diocesan Episcopacy proved from Holy Scripture, ii. 39.
Edwin, Sir Humphrey, Lord Mayor of London, i. 400; complaints against, ib.
Elgin, ruins of a cathedral at, ii. 204.
Ellis Correspondence, i. 193, 194; extracts from, 335, 364, 453; ii. 14.
Ellis, Mr. the surgeon, ii. 465.
Ellys, Richard, Esq. ii. 397.
——, William, (son of Sir William,) 134, 189.
——, Sir William, ii. 397, 400.
Emlyn, Sollom, i. 3, 107.
———, Thomas, particulars respecting, i. 107; his Inquiry into the Scripture Account of the Deity of Jesus Christ, 479; on the Trinity, ii. 428; works of, 443.
Emms, Mr. expected resurrection of, ii. 104.
England, Complete History of, i. 210, 211, 215; ii. 56, 69.
——————— state of public affairs in, i. 78, 193, 299, 318; ii. 314; effect of the Revolution in, i. 216; government of, 392; concludes peace with France, 398; declares war with France, 463; bill for the security of, ii. 23; union of with Scotland, 44, 48, 85, 219; peace with France, 260; sovereignty of, 509.
English Advice to the Freeholders of Great Britain, voted a libel, ii. 308.
Enty, Mr. his "Truth and Liberty Consistent and Maintained," ii. 435.
Epigrams, ii. 306.
Episcopacy, divine right of, i. 245.
Episcopal ministers, toleration for, ii. 8; refusal of, 164.
——————— communion, separation from, i. 284.
Epistles, secrets discovered in, i. 1.
Equivalent money, taken to Edinburgh, ii. 64.
Erasmus, writings of, i. 2.
Escalone, Duke of, ii. 252.
Essays, definition of, i. 38.
Essex, Earl of, his death, i. 109; his amiable character, 110, 437; directions to, 454.
Estates, forfeited, bill respecting, ii. 385.
——————— in Ireland, i. 415, 416.
Eugene, Prince, commences the war in Italy, i. 464; army of, ii. 62, 144; his mission to England, 249; allusion to, 277; obtains a victory over the Turks, 382.
Evans, John, succeeds Mr. Williams, ii. 344; allusions to, 466, 473, 497, 513, 518; his death, 528.
Evelyn, quoted, i. 123, 384, 409, 411, 412, 430, 439.
Exchequer, proposal for shutting it up, i. 102.
Exclusion, bill of, i. 91, 111, 155.
Executions, i. 84, 109, 381, 382; ii. 346, 348, 350, 357, 360, 460.
Exeter, dissenters at, ii. 263; differences among them, 405; assembly of ministers at, 426.

Facio, Nicholas, particulars relative to, ii. 73; conviction of, 75.
Faith, articles of, i. 231.
Fancourt, Mr. of Sarum, ii. 428.
Fasting, laws of, i. 249.
Fasts, monthly, appointed, i. 300.
Fathers, authority of, i. 252.
Feder, M. the librarian, ii. 2.
Felix, Bishop of Urgel, ii. 445.
Pelton, Bishop, i. 53.
Fenelon, life of, ii. 253.
Fenwick, Sir John, stir respecting, i. 382; beheaded, 383; conduct of, ib.; pillar to his memory, ib.
Ferguson, Robert, character of, i. 180; committed to Newgate, ii. 18.
——— Victor, his "Vindication of the Presbyterians, ii. 451.
Fern, Mr. i. 188.
Feversham, Lord, i. 466.
Finan, the Scottish Presbyter, ii. 148.
Finch, Lord Chancellor, his death, i. 98.
——— Mr. speech of, ii. 484.
——— Sir Heneage, i. 97.
Finlater, Earl of, his motion for dissolving the Union, ii. 267.
Firmin, Thomas, his death, i. 404; particulars respecting, ib.
Fish, curious, ii. 186.
Fitzgerald, Lieutenant-General, i. 80.
Fitzwalter, Lord, i. 133.
Five Letters on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, ii. 231.
Flanders, state of affairs in, i. 352.
Flavel, Mr. his "Blow at the Root, or the Causes and Cures of Mental Errors," i. 323.
Fleetwood, Dr. Bishop of St. Asaph, ii. 114; his "Essay on Miracles," 115; sermons of, 254; made Bishop of Ely, 306; his death, 472.
———, Lieutenant-General, i. 378.
Flemming, Robert, succeeds Mr. Alsop, i. 441; presents an address to her Majesty, ii. 63; his death, 363.
Fletcher, Mr. of Saltoun, speech of, ii. 9.
Foley, Paul, Esq. chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, i. 368.
———, Thomas, (afterwards Lord Foley,) i. 188.
Forbes, Dr. John, his works, i. 43.
———, Lord, ii. 156, 200.
Forces, reduction of, i. 402, 411.
Ford, Mr. ii. 523.
Forfar, town of, ii. 196.
Forster, Mr. insurrection of, ii. 326, 332.
Foster, Mr. page of the backstairs, ii. 100.
———, James, his Essay on Fundamentals, ii. 435.
Fourbin, Count de, Memoirs of, ii. 89; his particulars respecting the Pretender, ib.
Fowler, Dr. Edward, Bishop of Gloucester, i. 63; his death, ii. 305.
Fox, John, ii. 329; his account of the rebels, 347; his introduction to Dr. Calamy, 412.
———, extracts from, i. 69; ii. 225.
Frampton, Dr. Robert, his death, ii. 119.
France, Queen of, delivered of a boy, ii. 521.
———, alliance with, i. 68; growing power of, 78; state of affairs in, 153; concludes peace with Savoy, 385; government of, 392; peace with England, 398; embassy to, 406, 417; war declared against, 463; peace with, ii. 260, 288; death of the King of, 321; plague in, 453.
Franklin, Mr. Robert, i. 88, 89.
Fraser, Dr. ii. 203.
Frederick I. King of Prussia, his death, ii. 261.
——— William, Elector of Brandenburgh, his death, i. 148.
———, Prince of Wales, his return to London, ii. 516; address to, ib.
Freke, Thomas, his death, ii. 363.
French, persecutions of the, i. 123; successes of, ii. 62.
——— fleet, sails from Dunkirk, ii. 85; anchors in the Frith of Forth, 90.
Friend, Sir John, execution of, i. 381.
Friesland, some account of, i. 182.
Frost, remarkable, i. 114.
Fryer, Sir John, predicament of, ii. 245; information given to, 389.
Furstemberg, Cardinal, i. 154.
Fusidius, Lucius, i. 17.

Gale, Dr. letter to, ii. 418.
Gallas Count, ii. 240.
Galway, Earl of, ii. 51, 331.
Gaols, abuses in, ii. 519.
Garden, Dr. i. 43.
Gascoign, Mr. execution of, ii. 348.
Gasse, Count de, (afterwards Mareschal de Matignon,) ii. 90.
Gassendas, description of, ii. 349.
Gastrel, Dr. ii. 113.
Gautier, Abbot, ii. 251.
Gayer, Sir John, his legacy to the Dissenters, ii. 476.
Gearing, Henry, (grandfather of Dr. Calamy) i. 136, 224, 476.
Gearing, John, i. 65.
———, Joshua, i. 65, 89, 476.
———, Thomas, some account of, i. 136.
Geekie, Dr. chaplain to the Duke of Somerset, ii. 217.

Gell, Sir Philip, living in the gift of, i. 265.
George, Prince of Denmark, marries Ann, second daughter of the Duke of York, i. 114; allusion to, 466; ii. 100; his death, 115; buried at Westminster, 116.
——— Augustus, Electoral Prince of Brunswick Lunenburg, elected Knight of the Garter, ii. 44.
——— I. King, his accession to the throne, ii. 291; proclaimed, 295; addresses presented to, 297; his public entry into London, 298; declaration of, 299; addresses of the Dissenters to, ib. 366, 460, 490; his coronation, 301; proclamation of, 302; thanksgiving for his accession, 309; his speeches to Parliament, 310, 314, 343, 466, 490; addresses to, 316; letter of the Earl of Marr to, 320; sends troops to Bristol, Bath, &c. 325; resolves to visit his hereditary dominions, 356; lands in Holland, 357; address of the ministers of New England to, 360; his return to London, 364; his difference with the Prince of Wales, 386; his speech to Parliament, 387, 420; proclaims war with Spain, 393; prorogues Parliament, 395; embarks for Holland, 422; his return, 424; his reconciliation with his family, 433; anniversary of his coronation, 435; his letter to the King of Spain, 440; his bounty to the Dissenters, 465; his birthday, 484; his death, 493.
——— II. addresses to on his accession, ii. 496; coronation of, 500; his birthday, ib.; his speeches to Parliament, 511. 528; goes to Holland, 520; his return, 521.
Germans, proceedings of the, i. 95.
Germany, Emperor of, concludes peace with the Turks, i. 408; laid waste by the French, ii. 24.
Gey, Rev. Mr. ii. 488.
Gibbons, Dr. anecdote related by, ii. 521.
Gibraltar, taken, ii. 25. 440; restitution of, 485; besieged, 492.
Gibson, Dr. made Bishop of Lincoln, ii. 338.
Gilbert, Thomas, particulars relative to, i. 268; anecdote related by him, 276.
Gilmer, Sir Alexander, his seat at Craigmillar, ii. 182.
Gilpin, Bernard, life of, i. 261.
———, Dr. particulars respecting, ii. 192.
Ginckle, General, successes of, i. 299.
Giraldus, Lilius Gregorius, fate of, i. 37.
Glasgow, account of the city of, ii. 210.
———, Earl of, ii. 152, 159.
Glencoe, massacre in the town of, i. 328, 368, 441.
Gloucester, Duke of, his death, i. 420.
Godfrey, Sir Edmund Bury, murder of, i. 83.
———, John, i. 134.
Godolphin, Lord, appointed Lord High Treasurer of England, i. 463; ii. 16, 23, 46; advice of, 87; allusion to, 107; dismissed from office, 230; his death, 257.
Godwin, Mr. ii. 483.
Goodwin, Dr. monument of, i. 268.
———, Timothy, some account of, i. 134.
Gordon, Duchess of, ii. 67; sends a silver medal of the Pretender to the Dean of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, ii. 240.
Gorz, Baron, papers of, ii. 365.
Gospel, salvation of, i. 268; remarks on it, ii. 168; society for propagating, 334.
Gouge, Mr. i. 181.
Gough, Strickland, ii. 504.
Gowan, Mr. minister of Leyden, ii. 380; introduced to the King, 382.
Grabe, Dr. John, his death, ii. 249.
Grafton, Duke of, ii. 331, 498.
Granard, Lord, ii. 515.
Granger, Mr. i. 22.
Grantham, Earl of, ii. 449.
Granvale, Chevalier de, his execution, i. 319.
Grascome, Samuel, i. 330.
Gregory of Neocesaræa, the wonder-worker, i. 9.
Grevius, M. some account of, i. 144, 154, 157, 168; his letters of recommendation, 221.
Grey, Betty, ii. 99.
Griffyth, George, i. 324, 410.
Grimaldo, M. letter of, ii. 485.
Gronovius, M. particulars respecting, i. 175.
Grosvenor, Benjamin, ii. 363, 514.
Grotius, epistles of, i. 2, 227, 372.
Grove, execution of, i. 84.
Guards, Dutch regiment of, disbanded, i. 411.
Guevara, Don Balthazar, the Spanish Admiral, ii. 420.
Guiscard, M. a French papist, stabs Mr. Harley, ii. 238.
Guise, Sir John, i. 143.
Gunning, Bishop, character of, i. 457.
Gunston, John, ii. 478.
Gyllembergh, Count, letters of, ii. 365.
Habeas Corpus Bill, suspended, ii. 325.
Hacket, Dr. i. 55.
Haddington, Earl of, ii. 47.
Haddow, Mr. James, i. 172: ii. 196.

Hague, reception of King William at, i. 186.
Hale, Sir Matthew, i. 327.
Hales, John, his Letters from the Synod of Dort, to Sir Dudley Carleton, i. 28; on schism, 284.
Haliday, Samuel, a dissenting minister, ii. 397, 437, 481.
Halifax, Lord, his letter to a dissenter, i. 194; allusions to, 320, 400, 411, 462; ii. 3, 16, 36, 277, 278; impeachment against, 431, 433; vote obtained by, 465; ii. 44; life of, 284; his death, 312.
Hall, Bishop, his "Specialities of Divine Providence," i. 42.
——, Dr. Bishop of Bristol, i. 271.
——, Justice, executed, ii. 357.
——, Samuel, i. 106.
Hallett, Joseph, ii. 406, 488.
Halsey, Mr. i. 189.
Hamburgh, company for trade at, ii. 464.
Hamilton, Archibald, ii. 515.
————, Duke, his party, ii. 47; vote of, 48; defeat of, 222; killed in a duel, 285.
————, palace at, ii. 213.
————, James, Esq. i. 416.
————, Sir David, i. 476.
Hammond, George, i. 418, 503; his death, ii. 56.
Hampden, Mr. ii. 282.
————, John, commits suicide, i. 386; confession of, 387; character of, 390; trials of, 391; said to be active in promoting the Revolution, ib.
Hancock, Dr. ii. 229.
Hanmer, Sir Thomas, motion of, ii. 38; elected Speaker of the House of Commons, 277.
Hanover, Elector of, i. 432; made Knight of the Garter, 433; ii. 4; allusions to, 62, 241, 278, 279, 422.
————, House of, i. 427; succession of the House of, ii. 3, 47, 279.
Harcourt, Lord, ii. 283, 299.
Hardy, John, particulars respecting, ii. 500.
Hare, Mr. his "Scripture Vindicated," ii. 439.
Harle, Dr. the dissenting minister, ii. 148.
Harley, Robert, chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, i. 426, 438; his speech, ib.; chosen a third time, 464; succeeds the Earl of Nottingham, ii. 18; allusion to, 52, 101, 107; appointed Chancellor and Under Treasurer, 230; stabbed, 238; made Earl of Oxford, 239; allusion to, 277; application made to, 285.
Harley, Thomas, Esq. sent to Utrecht, ii. 241, 251; his negotiations there, ib.; apprehended, 313.
Harris, Dr. William, ii. 466, 493, 514, 518, 525, 528.
Harrison, Michael, some account of, i. 301.
————, Thomas, ii. 504.
Hartcliff, Mr. master of Merchant Taylor's School, i. 126; his kindness to Calamy, 130.
Hartington, Marquis of, i. 442.
Hassett, Mr. ii. 504.
Haversham, Lord, i. 433; speech of, ii. 38, 142; his death, 236.
Hawes, Mr. convicted, ii. 391.
Hawthornden Caves, ii. 183.
Hay, Mr. ii. 503.
Hayley, Mr. i. 5.
Haynes, Edward, Esq. i. 126.
Hearne, Thomas, i. 273.
Henchman, Mr. evidence of, ii. 377.
Henry, Matthew, ii. 258; his death, 305.
——, Mr. of Lyme, i. 188.
—— IV. edict of, i. 122.
—— VIII. aim of, i. 209.
——, Prince, ii. 517.
Herbert, Lord Chief Justice, i. 335.
Herriot's Hospital, Edinburgh, ii. 174.
Hester, John, the merchant, i. 141.
Hewley, Lady, particulars relative to, ii. 146.
Heylin, the biographer, ii. 336.
Hickes, Dr. i. 330, 332; his death, ii. 337; particulars respecting, 338.
Higgons, Benjamin, i. 45.
Hill, Joseph, of Rotterdam, i. 140; ordained, 348; his death, ii. 522.
——, Mrs. particulars relative to, ii. 101.
Hoadley, Bishop, his "Kingdom of Christ not of this World," i. 243; on the authority of the Church, 255; his observations on eternal salvation, 286; allusion to, 115; sermon of, ii. 371; personal attack upon, 372; his appeal, 374; charge against, 378; complaint made to, 408; his account of Dr. Clarke, 523.
Hoadly, Mr. i. 330; his Vindication of Dr. Sherlock, 478; his Letter on the Votes of Bishops in Parliament, ii. 4; his "Reasonableness of Conformity to the Church of England," 20, 29, 38; preaches before the Lord Mayor, 40; his "Defence of Episcopal Ordination," 79; merits of, 225; works of, 226; allusions to, 228, 229; publishes his Original and Institution of Civil Government, 236; made Bishop of Bangor, 338.

Hobbes, Thomas, his death, i. 94.
Hodges, Mr. address presented by to George I. ii. 318; knighted, 319.
Hody, Dr. i. 330.
Holland, state of affairs in, i. 147; France declares war against, 153; towns of, 183.
Holt, Lord Chief Justice, trial before, ii. 77; his conversation with Dr. Calamy respecting Mr. Lacy, 111.
Holyrood House, account of, ii. 173.
Hooft, Mynheer, saying of, i. 49.
Hooker, Mr. his Eight Books of Ecclesiastical Polity, i. 235; allusion to, ii. 236.
Hooper, Dr. George, succeeds Dr. Kidder, ii. 19.
———, Mr. meeting of, ii. 265.
Hopetown, Lord, seat of, ii. 193.
Hopkins, John, Esq. his death, ii. 535.
Horneck, Dr. i. 89.
Horsey, Colonel, ii. 228.
Horsley, Mr. the dissenting minister, ii. 148, 503.
Hottoman, Francis, his Franco-Gallia, i. 392.
Hough, Dr. Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, translated to Worcester, ii. 382.
House of Commons, warm debates in, i. 417.
———— Lords, debates in, i. 79; ii. 36. 417; act passed in, ii. 1; Irish, 29.
Houghton Tower, ii. 221.
————, Sir Henry, ii. 329.
Howard, Sir Robert, i. 97. 429.
Howe, John, i. 86, 139, 311, 317, 322; sermons by, 337, 339, 340, 348, 418; allusion to, 465; his opinion of a work of Dr. Calamy's, ii. 31; his death, 41; memoirs of his life, 476.
Howell, Mr. committed to Newgate, ii. 358.
Hudibras, allusion to, ii. 3.
Huet, Peter Daniel, works of, i. 30, 143.
Hughes, Obadiah, particulars respecting, ii. 437, 514, 525.
Hulse, Dr. of Aldermanbury, i. 134.
Humphrey, John, letter to, i. 371; author of the Sacramental Test, ii. 144.
Hunt, William, of Newport Pagnel, ii. 486.
Hunton, Rev. Philip, his "Treatise of Monarch," ii. 509.
Hurricane, violent, ii. 19.
Husse, John, burnt, ii. 174.
Hussey, Mr. his meeting-house plundered, ii. 353.
Hutcheson, Mr. deposition of, ii. 478.
Hutchinson, Dr. ii. 372, 375.
————, Mrs. memoirs of, ii. 332.
Hutton, Dr. letter from, ii. 143.
Ignatius, Epistles of, i. 225; controversy respecting, 292; errors of, 294.
Impositions, ecclesiastical, i. 258.
Infidelity, growth of, ii. 237.
Inman, Mr. ii. 504.
Innocent XII. his death, i. 425.
Inspiration, pretended, ii. 74.
Inverness, town of, ii. 204.
Ion, Mr. minister of Warkworth, ii. 326.
Ireland, state of public affairs in, i. 299; reduction of forces in, 411; forfeited estates in, 415; parliament of, ii. 331, 345; dissenters of, 429, 471.
———, execution of, i. 84.
Irish House of Commons, ii. 29, 353.
Islay, Lord, displaced from office, ii. 357.

Jacobite interest, i. 374.
Jacombs, Messrs. ii. 504.
Jamaica, earthquake in, i. 326.
James II. his treaty with Louis XIV. i. 70; declaration of, 71; proclaimed, 116; assuranees of, on his accession, 117; conduct of, 119; the rebellion in Scotland and Ireland during his reign, 137; his Second Declaration for Liberty, 195; intention of, 370; removal of, 406; his death, 434; anecdotes of, 488.
———— VI. baptized, ii. 209.
Jameson, Mr. his "Cyprianus Isotimus," ii. 211.
Jane, Dr. made prolocutor of the Lower House, i. 210; allusion to, 271; particulars relative to, 275.
Jeffreys, Lord Chief Justice, i. 59, 138, 391, 482; anecdote of, 483.
Jekyl, Dr. visits his nephew in Newgate, i. 497.
———, Sir Joseph, Master of the Rolls, ii. 352, 399, 478.
———, Sir Peter, ii. 282.
Jenkyns, Mr. i. 89.
Jennings, Mr. ii. 518.
Jennison, M. the French minister, i. 145.
Jerome, his lives of Paul and St. Hilarion, i. 14.
Jersey, Earl of, i. 400, 407; succeeded by the Earl of Manchester, 417; displaced from office, 357.
Jerusalem, Council at, i. 258.
Johnson, John, ii. 503.
————, Samuel, particulars respecting, i. 93, 330; ii. 337.
Johnston, Sir Patrick, ii. 185.
Johnstone, James, Esq. ii. 21.
Jortin, Dr. i. 2.
Josephus, Flavius, the learned Jew, i. 20.
Judas, treachery of, ii. 200.
Julian, the Apostate, i. 93.

Junius, Francis, his singular account of his own life, i. 27; his death, 28; anecdote of, ib.
Jurieu, M. i. 145, 182.

Kano, Colonel, ii. 381.
Keeling, Mr. John, i. 135.
Ken, Dr. Thomas, his death, ii. 237.
Kendal, town of, ii. 220.
Kendall, Duchess of, ii. 431, 494.
Kenmure, Lord, ii. 327; impeachment, against, 343; pleads guilty, 345; beheaded, 346.
Kennet, Dean, his letter to Dr. Colman, ii. 238.
———, Dr. (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough,) ii. 78, 270, 375, 376, 392, 451; his death, 518; work by, ib.; on his Historical Register, 547.
Kennicott, researches of, ii. 233.
Kentish, Joseph, particulars respecting, i. 127, 134, 139, 311, 317, 324; his death, ii. 41.
———, Thomas, i. 348, 349.
Kerr, Dr. opinion expressed by, i. 504.
———, John, Esq. Memoirs of, ii. 45; plot discovered by, 65; waits on Lord Godolphin, 86; allusions to, 143, 272; his death, 489.
Kettlewell, John, i. 93, 110, 113, 330, 332; ii. 142.
Keyes, execution of, i. 381.
Keyserswaert, taken by the Allies, i. 463.
Kidder, Dr. Bishop of Bath and Wells, i. 74, 127; killed, ii. 19.
Kinch, Dr. ii. 518.
King, execution of, i. 381.
———, Dr. Archbishop of Dublin, i. 69.
———, Lord, his Life of Locke, ii. 371, 443, 492.
———, Mr. (son of Sir John,) his studious habits, i. 189.
———, Mr. (afterwards Lord Chancellor,) demonstration of, i. 226; ii. 485.
———, William, of Rumford, ordained, i. 348.
———, Sir Peter, ii. 282.
Kinross, built by Sir William Bruce, ii. 209.
Kippis, Dr. i. 60, 470, 411; ii. 480, 513.
Kirkpatrick, James, tract by, ii. 481.
Knight, Dr. his Life of Erasmus, i. 2.
———, Robert, escape of, ii. 432.
Knot, Mr. i. 232.
Kreyenbergh, M. de, ii. 240.

Lacy, John, Esq. ii. 7; his peculiar notions, 76; visited by Dr. Calamy, 77; loses a lawsuit, 94; extraordinary case of, 95; conversation of Lord Chief Justice Holt respecting, 111; his death, 114.
Lacy, Mrs. ii. 77; her conversation with Dr. Calamy, 95.
Lake, Dr. Arthur, Bishop of Chichester, declaration of, i. 333.
Lamb, Mr. i. 106.
Lamberti, M. ii. 303.
Lancashire plot, i. 363.
Lancaster, town of, ii. 221.
Langallarey, Marquis of, memoirs of, i. 399, 420, 430.
Langford, Henry, Esq. i. 416.
Langi, Cardinal, Archbishop of Salisbury, opinion of, i. 261.
Langtoft, Peter, his Chronicle, i. 45, 46, 273.
Lardner, Mr. i. 127.
Larroque, M. i. 225, 299.
Laud, Bishop, i. 42.
Lauden, battle at, i. 338.
Lauderdale, Lord, device of, i. 93; his death, 98; particulars respecting, 102.
Launceston, town of, ii. 265.
Law, Mr. his artifices in projecting the Mississippi Company, ii. 430.
Lawless, Sir Patrick, ii. 251.
Lawrence, Captain, ii. 459.
Lawson, complaints against, ii. 155.
Layer, Christopher, Esq. executed, ii. 460.
Leak, Mr. a nonjuring clergyman, ii. 388, 389.
Lechmere, Mr. ii. 282.
Le Clerc, John, particulars respecting, i. 181; reply of ii. 59; suggestion of, 232.
———, his edition of the works of Erasmus, i. 2.
Leeds, Duke of, impeachment against, i. 433; his death, ii. 257.
Leeson, Mr. of Thame, ii. 476.
Leibnitz, Monsieur, his death, ii. 363.
Leighton, Archbishop, i. 263.
Lemoine's Treatise on Miracles, i. 11.
Le Moyne, M. particulars respecting, i. 175.
Leo X. Pope, diary kept by, i. 26; in the Nicene Canons, 256.
Leopold, declares his son king of Spain, ii. 18.
Leslie, Mr. his Case of the Regale and of the Pontificat stated, i. 330.
Lesly, Charles, i. 330; ii. 3; pamphlet supposed to be written by, 331.
L'Estrange, Roger, i. 84.
———, Sir Robert, i. 82.
Leusden, M. some account of, i. 144.
Leuwarden, Court at, i. 184.
Levet, Dr. Dean of Bristol, i. 281.
———, Sir Richard, i. 281.
———, Lady, wife of Sir Richard, i. 379; ii. 84, 309; her death, 463.
Leving, Sir Richard, i. 320, 410, 416; ii. 138.

Lewis, Dr. i. 74.
——, Mrs. Frances, her death, ii. 84.
Leydekker, M. professor of divinity, i. 143; particulars respecting, 167; his "De Republica Judæorum," 235.
Leyden, University of, i. 173.
Libertoun, near Edinburgh, ii. 179.
Liberty, blessings of, i. 393.
Limerick, siege of, i. 299.
Linacre, the physician, anecdote of, ii. 43.
Linlithgow, Earl of, impeachment against, ii. 344.
Linnen, Mr. i. 172.
Livingston, John, ii. 145.
Lloyd, Dr. (afterwards Bishop of St. Asaph) ii. 68, 71, 185; his death, 382; his prophetic genius, 383.
——, Dr. William, his death, ii. 141.
Lobb, Stephen, letter of, i. 372; pamphlet written by, 375; writes to Bishop Stillingfleet, 395; his sudden death, 410.
Locke, John, his Memoirs of Lord Shaftesbury, i. 96; letter to, 299; allusions to, 369, 429; ii. 2, 30; his death, 34; life of, 371, 443, 492.
Lockhart, George, Esq. his Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, ii. 45, 48, 89, 303, 339.
Lockman, Mr. i. 6.
London, alarm of a popish plot in, i. 83; executions in, 84; earthquake in, 326; address of the city to his Majesty, 435; violent hurricane in, ii. 19; thanksgiving for the Union, 62; tumults in, 228; address of the clergy, 229; disturbances in, 302; rebels brought to, 331; apprehensions of an invasion in, 365; appearance of the aurora borealis in, 349, 438.
——, Bishop of, i. 58, 201; ii. 40.
Long, Dr. i. 44.
——, Thomas, his Abridgement of Mr. Baxter's Life, i. 459.
Longevity, instance of, i. 77.
Lords, proclamation of the, ii. 298.
Lord's Prayer, use of, i. 159.
Lorimer, Mr. i. 324, 325; his death, ii. 464.
Lorraine, Duke of, ii. 302.
Lothian, Marquis of, ii. 184.
Louis XIV. his growing power, i. 68; his league with Charles II. 69; with James II. 70; declares war with Holland, 153; measure taken by, 216; Memoirs of, 323, 143; his death, ii. 321; character of, 322; his will, 324.
Louvois, Marquis de, advice of, i. 153.
Lowe, Mr. a Scottish minister, ii. 145, 152.
Lowick, execution of, i. 382.
Lowth, W. his "Vindication of the Writings of the Old and New Testament, ii. 232.
Luc, Count, expression of, ii. 257.
Lucas, Dr. i. 89.
——, Lord, Governor of the Tower, i. 424.
Ludolph, M. ii. 41; account of, 42.
Luxemburgh, Duke of, i. 318; his death, 352.
Luyts, M. Professor of Philosophy, i. 143; particulars respecting, 168.
Lye, Thomas, i. 73.

Macclesfield, Earl of, mission of, i. 428; trial of, 484.
Machiavel, death of, i. 38.
Mackintosh, Brigadier, commands the rebels, ii. 326.
Mackworth, Sir Humphrey, ii. 36.
Maclean, Sir John, examination of, ii. 18.
M'Millan, Mr. the Minister, ii. 67.
M'Cragan, Mr. ii. 211.
Maddox, Mr. ii. 503.
Mafei, Count, i. 426.
Magistrate, his power in ecclesiastical affairs, i. 329.
Maintenon, Madame de, her letter to Philip V. 434.
Maitland, Major-Gen. ii. 185.
Malchus, life of, i. 9.
Malebranche, Father, i. 38.
Malt, duty on, ii. 267.
Manchester, Earl of, succeeds the Earl of Jersey, i. 417, 434.
——, town of, ii. 222.
Mansfield Lord, his speeches to the Lords, i. 401; ii. 273.
Manton, Dr. i. 266; testimony of, 379.
Marchmont, Earl of, motion of, ii. 10; allusion to, 47.
Marion, Elias, conviction of, ii. 74.
Marischal, Earl of, ii. 420.
—— College, at Aberdeen, ii. 198.
Marlborough, Earl of, appointed Captain-General of the Forces, i. 461; successes of 464; ii. 18, 24; hindrance given to, 38; gains a victory at Ramillies, 50; allusion to, 144; falls into disgrace, 231; dismissed the service, 247; retires to Germany, 256; returns to London, 295; his death, 463.
——, Duchess of, ii. 118.
Marolles, M. de, sufferings of, ii. 261.
Marr, Earl of, rebellion of, ii. 320; goes into North Britain, ib; meeting of at Aboyne, 325; his engagement near Dumblain, 330; impeachment against, 343.
Marseilles, plague at, ii. 434.
Marsh, Bishop, i. 158; allusions to, ii. 4, 16.

Marryat, Zephaniah, ii. 514.
Mart, Mr. narrative of his misfortunes, i. 491.
Martin, Henry, i. 133.
———, M. i. 145.
———, Mr. his description of the Western Islands of Scotland, ii. 188.
Martyn, Arthur, ii. 478.
Martyr, Peter, on votes in councils, i. 257.
Marvell, Andrew, Esq. i. 43, 82.
Mary, Princess, married to the Prince of Orange, i. 80; insult offered to, 383; her death, 355.
Masham, Mr. ii. 101.
Masterton, Charles, his "Apology for the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland," ii. 476.
Mastricht, M. professor of divinity, i. 143.
Mather, Nathaniel, sermon of, i. 323.
Mayhew, Dr. his observations, ii. 335.
Maynard, Sir John, compliment paid by, ii. 61.
Mayo, Rev. Daniel, ii. 534.
———, George, i. 154.
———, Richard, i. 351; his death, 370.
Mazarine, Duchess of, i. 91.
Mead, Matthew, of Stepney, i. 341.
———, Richard, i. 188.
———, Samuel, i. 142, 342.
Meeting-houses, pulled down, ii. 313.
Meetings, private, for divine worship, i. 89.
Melancthon, epistles of, i. 2.
Melvill, James, stabs Cardinal Beaton, ii. 195.
———, Sir James, memoirs of, i. 42.
"Memorial of the Church of England," a Pamphlet, ii. 35; ordered to be burnt, 36.
Merezay, M. de, the French historian, i. 35, 39; on the laws of France, 392.
Meriton, Dr. i. 89.
Merrill, Mr. of Hampstead, ii. 465, 532.
Mesnager, M. ii. 35, 230, 238; his efforts to put an end to the war, 242; allusions to, 248, 260.
Mess-Johns, treatment of, ii. 217.
Mew, Bishop, i. 127.
Middleton, Dr. ii. 202.
———'s "Free Inquiry," i. 8, 10.
Militia, act for, passed, i. 103.
Millington, Edward, the Auctioneer, i. 63.
———, Edward, the Bookseller, i. 387.
Milton, on civil and religious association, i. 244; allusion to, 429; lines of, 470; supposed to have instituted the Calves' Head Club, ii. 12.
Ministry, divine institution of the office of, ii. 235.
Miracles, power of, i. 10.
Minorca, Island of, ii. 381.
Mississipi Company, projected, ii. 430.
Mohun, Lord, i. 428, ii. 4; his duel with the Duke of Hamilton, 255.
Molesworth, Lord, on the mode of governing, i. 394.
Molquerum, account of the town of, i. 183.
Molyneux, William, i. 299, 429.
Moncrief, Mr. an Episcopal minister, ii. 164.
Monk, General, ii. 184.
Monmouth, Duke of, rebellion of, i. 136, 391.
Montague, Charles, Chancellor of the Exchequer, (afterwards Lord Halifax,) i. 369, 384, 407.
Montaigne, Essays of, i. 35.
Montluc, Marshal, character of, i. 34.
Montrath, Countess of, her death, i. 405.
Montrevel, Mareschal, ii. 72.
Montrose, Duke of, ii. 47.
———, town of, ii. 196.
"Monuments of Mercy," ii. 526.
Moore, Elizabeth, ii. 305.
———, John, of Tiverton, ii. 407.
———, John, Bishop of Ely, his death, ii. 305.
More, Dr. Henry, his theological works, i. 24.
Moreland, Samuel, i. 142.
Morgan, Mr. a Dissenting Minister, letter of, ii. 428; his memoirs of Dr. Price, 467.
Morhofius, reflections of, i. 7.
Morley, Bishop, of Winchester, i. 457.
Morton, Charles, particulars respecting, i. 131; ii. 145.
———, Dr. i. 126.
Mottershed, John, i. 106; his death, 512.
Moult, Mr. the Chemist, ii. 102.
Moyle, Mr. his account of the aurora borealis, ii. 438.
Munckley, Mr. ii. 363; ordination of, 364.
Munnicks, M. i. 143.
Murray, William, Esq. impeachment against, ii. 343.
———, shire of, ii. 204.
Muscovy, Czar of, his arrival in England, i. 403; league of, 425.
Myonet, Mr. ii. 503.

Nairn, Lord, impeachment against, ii. 343; pleads guilty, 345.
———, Mr. advice of, ii. 178.
Namur, siege and capture of, i. 364.
Nangis, Chevalier de, taken, ii. 90.
Nantz, edict of, its revocation, i. 122.
National Debt, payment of, ii. 433.
Naylor, Quintus, ii. 503.
Nazianzen, on meetings of the clergy, i. 257.
Neal, Mr. ii. 489.

Needham, Dr. i. 126.
Nelson, Mr. curate of Aldermanbury, i. 76.
———, Robert, Esq. his efforts in behalf of Sir John Fenwick, i. 383.
Neville, H. some account of, i. 38.
Nevin, Thomas, trial of, ii. 479.
Newcastle, Duke of, ii. 319, 349, 503.
———, town of, ii. 147.
New England, address of the Ministers of, ii. 360.
Newman, John, ii. 493, 511.
———, Thomas, ii. 437.
Newton, Sir Isaac, i. 369; ii. 442; his death, 492.
Nichols, Dr. William, i. 204, 400; his Latin Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, 456; observation of, ii. 20.
Nicholson, Dr. Bishop of Carlisle, ii. 375, 376, 377.
Nicolas, Secretary, removed from office, i. 100.
Nimmeguen, treaty of, i. 81, 95, 254, 399.
Nisbet, John, i. 145.
Nithsdale, Lord, impeachment against, ii. 343; pleads guilty, 345; escapes from the Tower, 347.
———, Lady, her petition to the King, ii. 348.
Noble, Isaac, i. 315, ii. 288, 339, 474.
Nokes, William, a dissenting minister, i. 139, 142, ii. 505.
Nonconformists, number of, i. 80; reasons of, ii. 20.
Nonconformity, arguments in favour of, i. 259; defence of, 292; reasons for, 458.
North and Grey, Lord, proposition of, ii. 61.
Nott, Mr. of Tame, i. 279.
Nottingham, Earl of, charges against, ii. 18, 28; speech of, 60; joins the Whigs, 243; displaced from office, 357; his death, 527.
Nowell, Mr. ii. 262.
Noy, Attorney-General, i. 65.

Oates, deposition of, i. 83; whipped, 120; character of, ib.
Oglethorpe, Mr. ii. 519.
Oldfield, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) particulars respecting i. 223; his refusal of a living, 264; allusion to, 324; prosecution against, 402; allusions to, ii. 187, 363, 410, 439, 465; his death, 525.
Oldham, lines by, ii. 218.
Oldmixon, quoted, i. 108, 447, 450.
Oldsworth, Clerk, ii. 437.
Ollyffe, Mr. his "Defence of Ministerial Conformity," ii. 20, 29; his Second Defence, 38; his letters to Mr. Tong, 39, 537; his Third Defence, 56.
Onslow, Lord, ii. 451.
———, Arthur, appointed Speaker of the House of Commons, ii. 511, 521.
———, Sir Richard, appointed Speaker of the House of Commons, ii. 118.
Orange, Prince of, i. 70; married to the Princess Mary, 80; dream respecting, 148; character of, 149; his expedition to England, 151; driven back by a storm, 152; lands at Torbay, ib.; crowned, 153; *see* King William.
———, Princess of, ii. 91.
Orford, Earl of, i. 407; impeachment against, 431, 433; allusions to, 469; ii. 352, 528.
Orleans, Duke of, becomes Regent of France upon the death of the King, ii. 322, 324.
———, Duchess of, i. 66, 69.
Orme, Mr. a dissenting minister, ii. 389, 390.
——, Rev. W. remarks of, i. 380.
Ormond, Duke of, his success at Vigo, i. 463; made Commander-in-Chief, ii. 247; allusions to, 277, 298, 420, 423; impeached of high treason, 313, 320; reward offered for, 345, 348, 366, 393.
Orre, Mr. ii. 504.
Osborn, Sir Thomas, i. 102; created Earl of Darnley, 104; and Duke of Leeds, 105; his death, ib.
———, Mr. the bookseller, ii. 486.
———, Mr. Professor of Divinity, ii. 199.
Ostend Company, formation of, ii. 271.
Owen, Henry, ii. 504.
———, Colonel, escape of, ii. 316.
———, James, ii. 502.
———, Charles, ii. 514.
———, Dr. John, i. 43, 269; reflections upon him, 378; life of, 380; ii. 470.
———, Mrs. her conduct, i. 379; letter to, ib.
Oxburgh, Colonel, execution of, ii. 348; allusion to, 358.
Oxford Parliament, dissolution of, i. 200.
———, disturbance at, ii. 362.
———, Earl of, ii. 247, 270, 283, 298, 471; impeached of high treason, 313, 319; his petition, 379; released, 380; his death, 483.
———, University of, remarkable decree passed in, i. 113.

Paget, Mr. i. 133.
———, Lord, the British Ambassador, i. 408.
Painting, vice of, i. 33.
Palatine, relief of, ii. 227.

Palmer, Samuel, his Defence of Dissenting Academies, i. 459; ii. 505.
Papillon, Mr. i. 143.
Papists, method of silencing, i. 208; order respecting, 425.
Paris, public entry of the Earl of Portland into, i. 406.
Parker, Dr. Samuel, his Commentariorum de rebus sui temporis libri Quatuor, i. 43; ii. 350, 385.
Parliament, proceedings of, i. 79, 85, 86, 368, 402, 409, 417, 426, 436, 465, 511; ii. 23, 35, 114, 118, 231, 239, 242, 271, 296, 308, 310, 350, 385, 393, 483.
————, Irish, ii. 354.
————, Scottish, act passed in, i. 370; petition presented to, 407; meetings of, ii. 7, 15, 34.
Parliaments, dissolved by Charles I. i. 90.
Parr, Dr. ii. 342.
Partition, treaty of, i. 406, 417, 430, 431.
Parsons, of the Resolution, i. 468.
Partington, Mr. ii. 532.
Partridge, Mr. the astrologer, i. 180; prediction of, 384.
Pascal, M. i. 39.
Patrick, Dr. Bishop of Ely, i. 387.
Patten, Mr. his account of the rebels, ii. 326, 332, 347.
Paul of Samosatum, i. 294.
——, Parson, executed, ii. 357.
——, Father, of Venice, i. 4; his History of the Council of Trent, 261.
Pawlet, Earl, ii. 106.
Pearson, Bishop, i. 225.
Pedigrue, Mess. John, ii. 211.
Peers, new, creation of, ii. 247; bill for limiting their number, 421.
Peirce, James, chosen by the dissenters at Exeter, ii. 263; notions of, 403; his situation, 407; his sermon upon "the Evil and Cure of Divisions," 410; allusion to 419; his Western Inquisition, his death, 488.
Peiresc, M. de, life of i. 26.
Pembroke, Earl of, i. 400.
Pendergrass, discovery of, i. 370.
Penn, Wm. i. 163.
Pennant, Mr. curious story related by, ii. 189.
Perkins, William, i. 63.
————, Sir William, execution of, i. 381.
Perron, Cardinal, i. 6.
Persons, commutation of, i. 395, 396.
————, eminent, writings of, i. 1; lives of, 7.
———— permutation of, i. 396.
Perth, town of, ii. 205.
Peterborough, Earl of, ii. 51.
Peyton, Sir Robert, i. 179.
Philip, King, renounces the crown of France, ii. 255.
Pickering, execution of, i. 84.
Pilonniere, M. invectives against, ii. 372; his account of his conduct, 373.
Pinfold, Dr. anecdote of, i. 366.
Pinner's Hall, Lecture at, i. 351.
Pitcairn, Mr. ii. 194.
Plague at Marseilles, ii. 434, 453.
Plutarch, i. 4.
Pocock, Dr. Edward, Canon of Christ Church, i. 222.
Poictou, government of, i. 34.
Pointer, Mr. of Whitchurch, i. 302.
Poland, King of, i. 425.
Pomfret, Samuel, kindness of, i. 492; funeral sermon for, ii. 460.
Poole, Mr. his Synopsis of the Critics, ii. 469.
Pooley, Counsellor, ii. 36.
Pope, Michael, i. 318.
Popery, bill to prevent the growth of, ii. 28; the danger of, 271.
Popish Plot, discovery of, i. 81; opinion respecting it, ii. 400.
Porta, Baptista, i. 5.
Porter, Mr. a Dissenting Minister, i. 133.
Porteus, Bishop, ii. 525.
Portland, Earl of, i. 400; his public entry into Paris, 406, 407; impeachment against, 431, 433; his death, ii. 226; grant to, ib.
Portocarero, Cardinal, i. 420.
Portugal, King of, ii. 250.
Potter, Dr. Chaplain to his Majesty, ii. 311, 500, 531.
Powys, Duke of, ii. 328.
Predestination, remarks on, i. 470.
Presbyterians, persecutions of, i. 56; Lord Clarendon's hatred of, 453.
———— of Scotland, sham plot of, i. 213.
———— of Ireland, their address to Queen Anne, ii. 85.
Preston, Dr. (the famous Puritan,) i. 271.
————, town of, ii. 221, defeat of the rebels at, 329, 330, 331.
Pretender, proclaimed King of Great Britain, i. 434, 438; ii. 17, 28, 67; puts to sea, 85; reported to be taken, 88; lands in Scotland, 90; allusion to, 143; medal of, 240, 269; reward offered for, 298; declaration of, 302; preparations of, 314; proclaimed King in North Britain, 325, 327; lands in Scotland, 342; declaration of, 344; his return to France, 346; acknowledged by Spain, 395, 420.

Price, Dr. memoirs of, ii. 467.
Prideaux, Dr. i. 144.
Primei, Abbot, his History of the Dutch War, i. 69.
Prior, Mr. particulars respecting, i. 400.
——, Matthew, apprehended, ii. 313.
Pritchard, Sir William, action of, i. 143.
Prophets, new, particulars respecting, ii. 71, 103, 107, 197, 233.
Protestants, French, i. 122; persecuted, 406; condition of, ii. 260.
————, foreign, naturalization of, ii. 143.
————, religion of, i. 227, 232; union among, recommended, ii. 423.
Prussia, King of, his death, ii. 261.
Pulteney, William, Esq. ii. 511, 532.
Pultowa, battle of, ii. 227.
Pye, Sir Robert, i. 279.

Quaker, dream of one, i. 148.
Quakers, a dangerous sect, ii. 3; laws against, 34.
Queensbury, Duke of, elected Knight of the Garter, i. 433; adjourns the Parliament, ii. 10; allusions to, 21, 46, 65; hooted, 49; his death, 248.
Queen's Ferry, ii. 194.
Quinsey, Mr. ii. 503.

Radcliffe, Dr. John, his death, ii. 308; will of, ib.
Ramillies, victory at, ii. 50.
Rant, Roger, of Swaffham, i. 133.
Rapin, quotation from, i. 16; his Critical Works, 59; his remarks on the death of the Earl of Essex, 110; errors of, 320.
Rathband, Mr. i. 481.
Rawlinson, Dr. i. 270.
Read, Henry, ii. 364.
——, James, ii. 364, 511, 528.
Rees, Dr. Abraham, ii. 341.
Reeve, Mr. the King's Counsel, ii. 458.
Regium Donum, origin of, ii. 466.
Religion, authority in, i. 253.
Remonstrants and Predeterminants, i. 471.
Reynolds, Thomas, i. 142, 339, 340; ordained, 348; allusions to, 365, 491; ii. 260, 342, 360, 413, 426; letter to, 459, 465; his death, 510.
Rich, Sir William, ii. 520.
Richards, Mr. ii. 504.
Richardson, Mr. ii. 518.
Richelieu, Cardinal, i. 33.
Ridgeley, Mr. i. 181.
Rights of the Christian Church published, ii. 59, 236.
Risley, Mr. letter to, i. 272.
Rituals, or Ceremonies of the Church, i. 252.
Roberts, John, servant of the Duke of Leeds, i. 364.
———— Mrs. the King's Mistress, her death, ii. 83.
Robeton, Mr. private secretary, ii. 380.
Robinson, Dr. Bishop of Bristol, made Lord Privy Seal, ii. 239; succeeds Dr. Compton, 249, 270.
———— Benjamin, tract of, i. 397; waits on Bishop Burnet, 466, 472; succeeds Mr. Hammond, ii. 56; allusions to, 413, 426; letter to, 428; his death, 483.
———— Jonathan, the Bookseller, ii. 102.
Rochester, Earl of, i. 98, 448; ii. 10. 28, 36; appointed Lord President of the Council, 230; his death, 248.
Rohan, Duke of, particulars respecting, i. 33.
Rolt, Mr. i. 134.
Rome, intrigues of the court of, i. 6; ceremonies of the church of, 238.
———— city of, prediction respecting, i. 181; ii. 384.
Rook, Sir George, action of, ii. 25.
Rookwood, execution of, i. 382.
Rosewell, Samuel, ii. 119; his death, 462.
Rosner, President, beheaded, ii. 481.
Rothes, Earl of, ii. 47.
Rouille, M. ii. 144.
Roxburgh, Duke of, ii. 47.
Rufus, Rutilius, i. 16.
Rule, Dr. Gilbert, ii. 515.
Rupert, Prince, his death, i. 98.
Russel, Admiral, success of, i 319.
———— Mr. (afterwards Earl of Orford), i. 151.
———— Lord William, i. 93; beheaded, 109; letter of Dr. Tillotson to him, 111; his marriage with Lady Ann Carr, 112; allusions to, 424; ii. 248.
Rust, Dr. Bishop of Dromore, i. 140.
Rymer's Fœdera, account of it, i. 319.
Ryswick, peace concluded at, i. 398.

Sabbath, observance of, i. 146.
Sacheverel, Dr. trial of, i. 114; impeached by the Lords, ii. 223; tumults in consequence, 228; promoted to the living of St. Andrew's, Holborn, ib.
Sacramental test, ii. 28, 79, 143, 378.
Sacraments, on the administration of, i. 241. 289.
Safford, Mr. of Taunton, i. 188.
Sage, Mr. his Principles of the Cyprianic Age, ii. 211.
St. Albans, Duchess of, ii. 386.
St. Andrews, borough of, ii. 194; Colleges of, 195.

St. Athanasius, works of, i. 8.
St. Augustine, acknowledgment of, i. 130.
St. Austin, Bishop of Hippo, i. 21.
St. Clement, his Epistles to the Corinthians, i. 227.
St. Cuthbert's beads, ii. 149.
St. George, Chevalier, ii. 269.
St. Gregory of Nazianzum, his life written by himself, i. 20.
St. Hierome on the Lives of the Ancients, i. 8.
St. Hilarion, life of, i. 14.
St. John, Mr. Secretary, (afterwards Viscount Bolingbroke) i. 465; ii. 241, 249, 251.
St. Martin, of Tours, life of, i. 10; cures wrought by, 11.
St. Matthew, Gospel of, i. 294.
St. Paul, rules and maxims of, i. 257.
Salisbury, taken by Sir George Byng, ii. 88.
Salmon, cheap, ii. 198; hunted by dogs, 201; trade in, 203.
———, Mr. i. 45.
Salters' Hall, i. 477; ii. 258, 409, 411, 413, 416, 427, 428, 429, 442, 506.
Salvation, Eternal, remarks on, i. 284.
Sampson, Dr. Henry, particulars respecting, i. 75, 126.
Sancroft, Archbishop, motion of, i. 91; his death, 333; character of, 334; allusion to, ii. 142.
——— Dr. sermons of, i. 196, 202; allusion to, 291.
Sanders, Mr. of Oxford, i. 408.
Sanderson, Dr. Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, on church authority, i. 290; ii. 80.
Sardinia, King of, his death, ii. 532.
Sarum, Bishop of, ii. 228.
Satisfaction, doctrine of, i. 371.
Saurin, M. character of, i. 145.
Savoy, Duchess of, right claimed by, i. 426.
——— Duke of, i. 126, 216; ii. 62.
——— Princess of, married to the Duke of Burgundy, i. 403.
Saxony, Elector of, chosen King of Poland, i. 398.
Scaliger, J. C. i. 24; his letter to Ferrerius, 26.
Scarborough, Earl of, reward offered for, ii. 17.
Scaurus, Æmilius, i. 16.
Schellenbergh, battle of, i. 24.
Schism, sin of, i. 257, 284; case of, ii. 308.
——— bill passed, ii. 282, 293, 344; queries on, 543.
Schomberg, Marshal, i. 80, 466; ii. 251.
Schoolmaster, Dutch, described, i. 184.
Schoolmasters, regulations respecting, ii. 283.
Schultetus, Abraham, his "Narratio Apologetica de curriculo vitæ suæ," i. 28.
Schurman, Anna Maria, some account of, i. 163; curious story of a glass painted by her, 164.
Schutz, Baron, writ demanded by, ii. 278.
Scomberg, Duke of, anecdote of, i. 49.
Scotch, remonstrate respecting the duty on malt, ii. 267.
——— India Company, subscriptions for, i. 384; difficulties respecting, 413, 418, 421, 422, 423.
Scotland, Act of Parliament passed in, i. 354; meeting of the Parliament of, ii. 8, 15, 34; supposed plot carried on in, 17, 22; union with, 35, 44, 48, 85, 289; affairs of, 46; design for landing French forces in, 65; education in, 216; assembly of the church of, 271.
Scott, George, i. 42.
Scriptures, majesty of, i. 27, 233.
Sea-cat, a fish, ii. 186.
Seafield, Lord, i. 413, 414.
Seaforth, Earl of, ii. 420.
Seager, Mr. ii. 503.
Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, ii. 217, 504.
Second Sight, gift of, ii. 189; curious relation of, 514.
Security, Act of, ii. 9, 46.
Seldon, his notes upon Eutychias, i. 227.
Selkirk, Earl of, ii. 153, 154, 214.
Seminaries, dissenting, clamour against, ii. 12.
Semple, Mr. ii. 180.
Septennial Act, ii. 350.
Seymour, Sir Edward, ii. 15.
Shaftesbury, Lord, particulars respecting, i. 95.
Sharp, Dr. anecdote of, i. 118.
———, Archbishop, ii. 194, 196.
Sheffield, John, his death, ii. 487.
Sheldon, Archbishop, i. 457.
———, Dr. letter of Chillingworth to, i. 234.
Sheppard, James, treasonable designs of, ii. 338; committed to Newgate, 389; executed at Tyburn, 390.
Sherlock, Dr. William, Dean of St. Paul's, i. 58; his Test Act vindicated, 80; his observations on Scripture, 253; his vindication of the Trinity, 380; Dr. South's animadversions on it, 381; Mr. Hoadly's vindication of, 478; sermons by, ii. 25, 355; endeavours to cause divisions among the Dissenters, 373; his answer to Bishop Hoadley, 377.
Shewel, Mr. i. 108.
"Shift Shifted," ii. 358.

Shippen, Mr. committed to the Tower, ii. 387.
Ships, cast away, ii. 19.
Shore, Samuel, Esq. ii. 147.
Short, Dr. i. 126.
Shovel, Admiral, cast away, ii. 62; fleet under his command, 72.
Shower, John, i. 139, 324, 342, 365, 385; funeral sermon preached by, 475; allusion to, ii. 37; his death, 340; account of him, ib.
Shrewsbury, Lord, i. 134; ii. 256; his public entry at Paris, 268; numerous offices held by, 294, 297; his death, 388.
Shute, Barrington, Esq. (afterwards Lord Barrington,) his mission into the north, ii. 44; endeavours of, 414.
Sidney, Algernon, Esq. i. 112.
———, Sir Philip, i. 185.
Simon, Richard, his Critical History of the Old Testament, i. 388; his design of a polyglot Bible, 389.
Simons, Father, an English Jesuit, i. 68.
Sinclair, Mr. i. 311.
Sinking fund, established, ii. 385.
Slare, Dr. Frederick, ii. 42.
Smalridge, Bishop, reply of, i. 262; alluded to, 450; ii. 328, 353.
Smith, George, of Hackney, ii. 364, 529.
———, Jeremy, ii. 344, 413, 426, 465; his death, 473.
———, John, Esq. chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, ii. 35, 64.
———, Mr. ii. 305, 437.
———, Professor, ii. 198.
———, Dr. Pye, ii. 443.
———, Richard, arrested, ii. 269.
———, Dr. Thomas, i. 46.
———, Sir Thomas, his Commonwealth of England, ii. 508.
Smyrna fleet, miscarriage of, i. 338.
Snape, Dr. Andrew, his controversy with Bishop Hoadley, ii. 372.
Snell, Mr. ii. 351.
Soame, David, sermon of, ii. 531.
Sobieski, John, King of Poland, his death, i. 385.
Socinians, errors of, i. 396.
Sodorinus, Cardinal, advice of, i. 261.
Soldiers, whipped, ii. 353.
Somerset, Duke of, reward offered by, ii. 17; allusion to, 297; his bill to limit the number of peers, 421.
Sommers, Lord, i. 344, 407; impeachment against, 431, 433; reward offered for, ii. 17; allusion to, 45; his death, 351; character of, 352.
Sophia, Princess, Electoress-Dowager of Hanover, i. 427; memorial to, ii. 2; motion respecting, 38; letter of Queen Anne to, 288; her death, 289, 495.
Sorbiere, M. his reflections on the English, i. 219.
Sorey, Mr. (grandson to Dr. Gilpin,) ii. 192.
Soul, on the immortality of, i. 283.
South, Dr. anecdote of, i. 276; his "Animadversions on Dr. Sherlock's Book," 381.
Southby, Mr. i. 279.
Southerland, Mr. ii. 175.
South Sea Company, incorporated, ii. 239; fraudulent management of, 431, 439.
Spademan, Mr. presents an address to Queen Anne, ii. 51, 52; his strictura, 56.
———, John, of Rotterdam, i. 140; particulars respecting, ii. 119.
Spain, succession to the crown of, i. 406; war proclaimed against, ii. 303, 423.
———, King of, his bad state of health, i. 399.
Spalato, Archbishop of, reflection of, i. 260.
Spanheim, Dr. Frederick, i. 9; some account of, 173.
Spaniards, defeat of the, ii. 229.
Spectacles, green, recommended for weak eyes, i. 161.
Spencer, Lord (afterwards Earl of Sunderland), i. 155, 479.
Spilsbury, Mr. of Bromsgrove, i. 352.
Spinks, Mr. i. 330.
Spotswood, Archbishop, his History of the Church of Scotland, i. 42.
Spratt, Dr. Bishop of Rochester, his death, ii. 268.
Sprint, Mr. i. 303, 309.
Stair, Lord, advice of, ii. 424.
Stamford, Earl of, ii. 394, 422.
Stanhope, Mr. ii. 320.
———, Lieut.-General, ii. 24; speech of, ib.; victory gained by, 229; exchanged for the Duke of Escalone, 252.
———, Dr. Dean of Canterbury, ii. 51.
———, General, motion of, ii. 94; opposes the Schism bill, 282.
———, Secretary, ii. 368, 369.
———, Earl, bill introduced by, ii. 393; his death, 438.
———, Vice-Chamberlain, ii. 498.
Standen, Mr. ii. 504.
Steele, Mr. expelled the House of Commons, ii. 278.
———, Sir Richard, i. 108, 254; ii. 463.
Steenkirk, battle of, i. 318.

Stephens, Captain, i. 191.
———, Samuel, i. 311; funeral sermon for, 353.
Stillingfleet, Bishop, on a succession of bishops, i. 288, 330; his discourse to the clergy, 373; his opinion of the commutation of persons, 394, 395.
Stirling, Mr. of Glasgow College, ii. 160.
———, town of, ii. 209.
Stockings, worsted, expensive, ii. 203.
Story, Mr. interesting narrative of, i. 481.
Stoughton, Dr. i. 54.
Strafford, Earl of, impeached of high treason, ii. 313, 320.
Stretton, Richard, i. 88, 348, 349, 380, 523; his death, ii. 257.
Stuart, Sir James, some account of, ii. 171.
Stubbs, Mr. sermon of, i. 459.
Sulpicius Severus, his Life of St. Martin of Tours, i. 10.
Sun, remarkable eclipse of, ii. 311.
Sunday, remarkable one, i. 83.
Sunderland, Lord, reward offered for, ii. 17; allusions to, 52, 64, 94, 117, 145, 233, 234, 394, 472.
———, Lord, some account of, i. 155; his death, 479.
Superiors, judgment of, i. 284.
Sutherland, Countess of, ii. 173.
Swale, Sir Solomon, ii. 522.
Sweden, peace with, i. 352; league formed against, 425; expected invasion from, ii. 365.
———, King of, defeated, ii. 227.
Swift, lines by, ii. 323; his character of Lord Sommers, 352.
Sydney, Mr. (afterwards Viscount of Sheppey and Earl of Romney,) i. 151; ii. 2.
Sylvester, Matthew, i. 312, 324, 338, 349; his circumstances, 359; MS. of Mr. Baxter left to his care, 376; his death, ii. 80; his visit to Dr. Sanderson, ib.; his account of an unfortunate female, ib.
Sylvius, Æneas, (afterwards Pope Pius II.), commentaries of, i. 25.
———, M. the Dutch Ambassador, ii. 511.
Sympson, Mr. the money-scrivener, killed, ii. 19.
Synod, Presbyterian, meeting of, ii. 435, 451.

Tacitus, Caius Cornelius, his life of Julius Agricola, i. 15.
Talbot, Dr. Bishop of Oxford, ii. 311.
Tallard, Count, i. 406; taken prisoner, ii. 24.
Tallents, Francis, MSS. of, i. 196; allusion to, 387.
Tangier, abandoned, i. 115.
Tatnal, Mr. particulars respecting, i. 77.
Taylor, Bishop, his Ductor Dubitantium, i. 246.
———, Christopher, i. 349; ii. 45.
———, Nathaniel, i. 139, 324; succeeds Mr. Richard Mayo, 371; his death, 474; his advice to Dr. Calamy, ib.; causes of his death, ib.; funeral sermon for, 475; treatise of, 478; allusion to, 504.
———, Richard, i. 353.
———, William, i. 380; publication of a letter of, 408.
Temple, Sir William, memoirs of, i. 5, 40, 48; allusions to, 68, 71, 78; his observations on the United Provinces, 149, 171, 183.
Tennison, Dr. succeeds Archbishop Tillotson, i. 355, 384, 466; representation of, 415; life of, ii. 16, 26, 27, 37; his death, 333; character of, 334; his will, ib.
Test Act, i. 98.
—— Sacramental, ii. 28, 79, 143, 378.
Testament, New, printed in Greek, ii. 41.
Thames, river, frozen, i. 114.
Thanksgivings, public, ii. 84, 114, 144, 309, 354.
Tholouse, Count de, action with, ii. 25.
Thomas, Dr. William, Bishop of Worcester, his death, i. 332.
———, Mr. i. 314.
———, Sir Edmund, ii. 467.
Thomson, lines by, ii. 519.
Thoresby, Mr. Ralph, i. 76.
Thorn, City of, tumults in, ii. 481.
Thornton, Mr. i. 189.
Throne, succession to, i. 427; ii. 22, 38.
Thuanus, life of, i. 3, 24.
Tiberius, Emperor, life of, i. 20.
Tidcomb, Mr. ii. 512.
Tillotson, Archbishop, maxim of, i. 47; life of, 205.
———, Dr. his letter to Lord Russel, i. 111; sermons of, 140; his intentions regarding the dissenters, 202; his advice to King William, 204; allusion to, 291; his death, 355.
Tindal, Dr. his rights of the Christian Church, ii. 59.
Toland, John, some account of, i. 428; tracts of, 480; his Memorial of the State of England, ii. 37; his death, 461.
Toleration, act for, passed, i. 215, 259, 401; ii. 4, 27, 109, 412.
Tong, Mr. William, ii. 39, 305, 341, 360, 363, 413, 426, 465, 486; his death, 493; letter to, 537.
Torcy, Marquis de, ii. 144.

Torriano, Mr. Chaplain to the Duke of Manchester, i. 127.
Toulmin, Dr. i. 372; ii. 489.
Toulouse, Count de, ii. 267.
Tower, rebels committed to, ii. 332.
Towers, Dr. ii. 45.
Townshend, Lord, reward offered for, ii. 17; opinion of, 286; allusions to, 298, 444, 448, 460, 492.
Trail, Robert, letter of, i. 324.
Trained bands, called out, i. 83.
Traquair, Earl of, i. 38.
Trenchard, John, Esq. i. 416.
Trent, Council of, i. 261.
Trevisa, John, his translation of Higden's Polychronicon, ii. 202.
Trevor, Sir John, Speaker of the House of Commons, i. 364.
Trigland, Professor, i. 175.
Trimnel, (Mr. afterwards Bishop of Winchester,) i. 156; his death, ii. 473.
Trinity, vindication of, i. 380; doctrine of, ii. 259; objections against, 280.
Triple League, i. 67; ii. 364, 370; hymn to the, 390; differences respecting, 405, 411, 425, 426, 427, 443.
Trumbull, Sir William, the English Ambassador, i. 70.
Tuke, Sir R. memoirs of, i. 83.
Tullybardine, Marquis of, ii. 420.
Turks, besiege Vienna, i. 115; defeat of, ii. 382.
Turner, Dr. Francis, his death, i. 424; particulars respecting, ib.
Tweedale, Marquis of, i. 419; ii. 21, 47.
Tyrconnel, Lord, i. 69.

Ulm, taken, ii. 25.
Ulspergh, Mr. a German divine, ii. 364.
Underhill, John, ii. 486.
Uniformity, act for, i. 56; ii. 80.
United States, assembly of the Episcopalians of, ii. 336.
Upton, Dr. meeting at his house, i. 324.
Usher, Archbishop, on a succession of bishops, i. 288; allusions to, 298, 346.
Utrecht, city of, i. 142; university of, 143; English church at, 144; French church at, 145; antiquity of the place, 169; walls in the vicinity, ib.; Cathedral Church of, ib; manners of the inhabitants, 170; chosen as the place of Congress, 240; peace of, 364.

Vallon, M. i. 143.
Van der Muyden, M. i. 143, 154.
Van Halen, M. Professor of Divinity, i. 143, 158.
Vanini, fate of, i. 23.
Vaudois, resistance of, i. 216; advice given to two, ii. 384.
Vendome, Duke of, ii. 114.
Vernon, Mr. i. 407.
Vestries, bill against the irregularities of, ii. 352.
Vienna, besieged by the Turks, i. 115.
Villars, Mareschal, ii. 72.
Villers, Mr. ii. 172.
Villiers, Lady Elizabeth, immense grants to, i. 415.
Vincent, Nathaniel, ii. 487.
Voet, Dr. Gisbert, a celebrated divine, i. 161.
Voetius, Professor of Theology, i. 157
Voltaire, his La Henriade, ii. 281.
Voragine, Jacobus de, golden legend of, i. 14.
Vossius, Isaac, work published by, i. 6; library of, 26.
Vows, sermons on the subject of, i. 362.

Wagstaff, Dr. i. 330.
Wake, Archbishop, ii. 440, 451.
——, Dr. i. 330; his "Appeal to all the true Members of the Church of England," 405; nominated to the See of Canterbury, ii. 338.
Wakefield, Gilbert, i. 11.
Wales, Prince of, son of George I. ii. 356; 360, 362; his birthday, ib.; ordered to retire from Court, 386; reinstated in his Father's favour, 434, 449; proclaimed King, 496.—*see* George II.
——, Princess of, ii. 301; recovery of, 361; delivered of a son, 386.
Walker, Dr. Anthony, i. 74; ii. 507.
——, John, ii. 145; publication of his "Attempt," &c. 307.
Wall, Dr. on the Providence of God, ii. 232.
Waller, couplet of, i. 221.
Wallingford House, affair of, i. 378.
Wallis, Dr. John, his account of his own life, i. 46, 271; character of, 273; his death, ii. 21.
Walpole, Robert, Esq. committed to the Tower, ii. 249; allusion to, 282; motion made by, 312, 320; allusions to, 395, 448; character of, 466; continues in favour, 495; allusions to, 511, 532.
Walton, Bishop, i. 26.
——, Mr. of Bethnal Green, i. 130.
Ward, Sir Patience, i. 142.
Warren, Mr. ii. 532.
Warsaw, tribunal at, ii. 481.
Waters, James, i. 107.
Watson, Mr. i. 88.
Watts, Dr. sermons of, ii. 246, 531.
——— verses by, ii. 291.
——, Isaac, ii. 513.

Watts, Mary, married to Dr. Calamy, i. 365.
——, Michael, character of, i. 365; anecdote of, 366; his death, ii. 84.
Wearg, Mr. ii. 458.
Webster, James, ii. 161, 179.
Weeks, Mr. particulars relative to, i. 311, 314.
Weemse, Countess of, ii. 189.
Weld, Mr. ii. 402.
Welderen, Count, the Dutch Ambassador, ii. 511.
Wells, Samuel, i. 107.
Wellwood, Dr. his opinion relative to the Popish plot, i. 81.
Welton, Dr. ii. 390.
Wesley, Samuel, particulars relative to, i. 459; ii. 505.
Westminster, assembly of Divines at, i. 159; election of a high steward for, ii. 348; tumultuous proceedings in, 454.
—— confession, ii. 452.
Wharton, Lord, his death, i. 351.
—— Lord, motion of, ii. 10; reward offered for, 17; allusions to, 37, 228; remarks of, 82; his death, 339; character of, 340, 409.
Whigs, condition of, i. 87, 93; infatuation of, 138.
Whiston, Mr. i. 262; on the Epistles of St. Ignatius, 297; his Essay on the Revelation of St. John, ii. 250, 523, 527.
White, Jerry, ii. 13.
——, Sir Thomas, i. 127.
——, Dr. Thomas, his death, i. 409.
Whitehall, Palace at, burnt down, i. 405.
Whitehaven, town of, ii. 220.
Widdrington, Lord, impeachment against, ii. 343; pleads guilty, 345.
Wigglesworth, Edward, ii. 514.
Wightman, General, ii. 325, 330, 421.
Wilcox, Daniel, succeeds Mr. Doolittle, ii. 78.
Wilde, Dr. verses published by, i. 56.
Wiley, Mr. of Hamilton, ii. 161, 213.
Wilkins, Dr. promoted to the See of Chester, i. 99.
Willets, Mr. of Princes Risborough, ii. 476.
William, King, his Act of Grace, i. 179; revisits his native country, 185; his reception at the Hague, 186; design against, 318; government of, 332; lays siege to Namur, 364; plot for assassinating, 370; execution of the conspirators, 381; concludes peace with France, 398; his public entry into London, 400; his embassy to the French Court, 406; his return from Holland, 408; his speech to Parliament, 409; reduction of his troops, 411; his greatness of soul, 412; his difficulties about the Scotch India Company, 413; character of, 416; dissolves Parliament, 423; his speeches to Parliament, 426, 433; goes to Holland, 434; address of the City of London to, 435; various addresses presented to, 436; address of the Dissenters to, 437; his death, 489; character of, 440; buried at Westminster, 461; slights on his memory, ii. 172.
William, Prince, (afterwards Duke of Cumberland,) birth of, ii. 439.
Williams, Dr. library of, i. 102; allusions to, 330; ii. 305; refusal of, 471, 533.
——, Daniel, his "Gospel Truth stated and vindicated," i. 323; allusions to, 349, 351; ii. 23, 187; inquiry into his principles, i. 356; charges brought against, 371, 372, 374; funeral sermon preached by, 385; writes to Bishop Stillingfleet respecting the "commutation of persons," 394; vindicated, 396; his "End to Discord," 409; visits his friends, 423; allusion to, ii. 7; his sentiments on Nonconformity, 30; allusion to, 299.
——, Mr. funeral sermon preached by, ii. 78; degree conferred on, 212; his death, 344.
——, Mrs. funeral sermon for, i. 405.
Williamson, Colonel, deputy-governor of the Tower, ii. 455, 457, 459.
——, Joseph, the British Ambassador, i. 400.
Willis, Dr. Richard, made Bishop of Gloucester, ii. 306, 309, 473.
Wills, General, ii. 222, 327, 329.
Wilmer, Mr. i. 143.
Winandermere, ii. 221.
Wind, violent storm of, ii. 19; damage done by, ib.
Winney, Mr. i. 314.
Winter, Mr. ii. 504.
Wintoun, Lord, impeachment against, i. 343, 345.
Wirtemburgh, Duke of, ii. 364.
Wishart, George, prediction of, ii. 194; allusion to, 514.
Withers, Mr. publication by, ii. 308.
Wittsius, M. Professor of Divinity, i. 143, 157; particulars respecting, 166.
Wodehouse, John, succeeds Dr. Annesley, i. 385.
Wollaston, Mr. i. 142.
Wood, Mr. a Dissenting Minister, i. 59; loyalty of, ii. 329, 511.
——, the historiographer, i. 274.

Woolley, Mr. ii. 477, 478.
Woolston, Mr. prosecuted, ii. 525.
Worcester, meeting of clergy at, i. 372.
————, Bishop of, i. 397; ii. 328.
World, end of it predicted, ii. 384.
Worship, places of, i. 240; form of, 478; restrained mode of, ii. 246.
Wotton, Mr. his Visitation Sermon, ii. 59.
Wren, Bishop, character of, i. 53.
Wright, Samuel, ii. 364, 483, 486, 514, 532.
Writers, eminent, i. 1.
Wry Nose, mountain of, ii. 220.
Wynne, Dr. made Bishop of St. Asaph, ii. 306.
Yewel, Mr. particulars respecting, i. 76.
York, Archbishop of, ii. 10.
——, Cathedral of, ii. 147.
——, Duchess of, i. 68.
——, Duke of, i. 155.
Young, Mr. i. 44; lines by, 140, ii. 15.
Youth, on the instruction of, i. 402, ii. 13.
Yule, Mr. his discourse with Dr. Calamy on religious subjects, i. 166.

Zinzan, Mr. i. 127.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY SAMUEL BENTLEY,
Dorset Street, Fleet Street.

God

00110900

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 02 January, 2016